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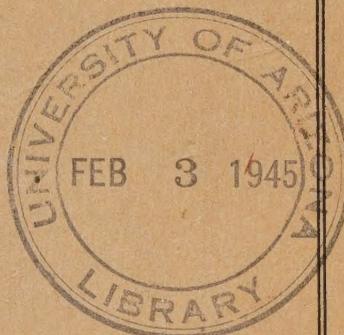
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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME VI

JULY, 1929

NUMBER 3

THE SOURCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CONSTITUTION OF 1776

By EARLE H. KETCHAM

There is a continuity in the constitutional history of a people, as well as in their social or economic development. It is impossible to say of any one time, "Here a change was made, without any reference to the past." In the past there was the germ of the "idea," and in the past there was the experience which led to the action,¹ and so it was with the "revolutionary" constitution of North Carolina. Revolutionary the constitution was, indeed, for it was evidence of the overthrow of a formerly established government and the establishment of a new. But it was evolutionary too, because it was based on the past experiences of the people, it incorporated the teachings of former times, and it grew out of what was then their present need.

Roughly we may say, at the present time, that the history of North Carolina may be divided into two somewhat equal parts, the line of division being the War of Independence. The more than one hundred years of experience as a proprietary and as a crown colony had resulted in some very definite conclusions as to the best form of government.² Did not their experience teach them that governors were usually tyrants and should be curbed at every possible point? Had they not seen that the legislatures, representative of the people, were the bulwarks of liberty?

¹ Professor C. E. Merriam in his *American Political Theories*, p. 94 makes a distinction between the origination and the application of these ideas. He says, "To attribute the origination of these ideas [of the Revolutionary period] to the men of 1776, is . . . Simply to ignore the historical development of political theory. But in respect to the practical application of these doctrines what has just been said does not apply; for a set of principles like those involved in the construction of state constitutions had never before received such public recognition."

² As to the character of the first charters we have the interesting statement of Dr. John S. Bassett in his *Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina* (1663-1729) that the reactionary features of the Fundamental Constitutions were "hardly worse than their generation, and their liberal features were much better than the time." Johns Hopkins, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*. Twelfth series, 137.

The Founding Fathers of North Carolina not only profited by their own experience, but also by that of their sister states. When the colonies were chiefly proprietary and the settlements were so scattered that the colonists lived in geographical isolation, there was a tendency for them to develop unlike.³ But with the growth of intercolonial intercourse, and the control by the crown, there resulted a movement towards greater uniformity in both political thought and action.

But not all the differences between the colonies were eliminated. Due to geographic and historical conditions, North Carolina was in 1776, much more democratic than many of her sister states, such as Virginia and Maryland. There was an absence of a strong landed aristocracy as found in Virginia,⁴ and the absence of any large ports had hindered the development of an influential commercial class.⁵ Lastly, the Church of England with its aristocratic tendencies, was weaker in North Carolina, than in her sister colonies directly to the north or to the south.⁶ Under these conditions, we should expect the revolutionary constitution of North Carolina to be more radical than the constitutions of most of her sister states.⁷

Not only were the Founding Fathers North Carolinians, but, generally speaking, they or their fathers had been Englishmen, and as Englishmen they had had certain inherited rights. True it was, that in 1776 they preferred to speak of them as "natural" rights, but they were in any case frequently the same as those demanded in the Great Charter, in the Petition of Right, and in the Declaration of Right. These were by inheritance the property of all.

In this connection the frontier influence cannot be overlooked. The colonists came over to America with their English heritage, but this was profoundly affected by the economic and geographical conditions under which they found themselves. The attempts to found orders of nobility in North Carolina were failures. Class distinctions, such as were found in England, tended to break down, and the mobility of the population made for democracy. The

³ E. B. Greene, *Provincial America*, ch. 5. "Constitutional tendencies in the Colonies."

⁴ *Ibid.*, 193, 275.

⁵ Allan Nevins, *The American States, during and after the Revolution, 1775-1789*, 140.

⁶ Greene, *Provincial America*, 7-9.

⁷ Allan Nevins, *The American States, during and after the Revolution, 1775-1789*, 139-157.

Here the constitutions of North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania are classed as "radical." Speaking of the North Carolina constitution he says, (p. 141), "Democracy here overleapt itself, and to an excess of radicalism we must ascribe the highly unsatisfactory nature of the North Carolina Constitution." As to whether or not the Virginia constitution is to be classed as radical is open to question. Ambler in his book, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 39, says, "In the plan of government, conservative principles triumphed, although the victory was not apparent at the time."

frontier conditions not only made for individualism, but also for political co-operation. It was the dissenter who had gone from the homeland to the colonies, having been induced to go there by the desire for liberty, the presence of cheap land, and the influence of the proprietary promoters. It was the frontiersman who was opposed to the Church of England, to entail and primogeniture, and to aristocracy. And it was the frontiersman who demanded manhood suffrage, equal representation, and a government so checkered and balanced, and with officers elected for such short terms, as to make the government ineffective.

Some of the principles of government upon which the Founding Fathers acted are to be found in the writings of certain of the English political philosophers, especially John Locke.⁹ John Adams in a letter to John Penn,¹⁰ in which Adams suggested provisions for the constitution, made a list of the philosophers,¹¹ whom a "man must be indifferent indeed to sneer and ridicule." The list is composed of the names of Sidney, Harrington, Locke, Milton, Nedham, Neville, Burnet, and Hoadley. Although Montesquieu's name was not in the list, he is elsewhere mentioned in the same letter. In the will of Josiah Quincy¹² is to be found a similar list. It reads: "I give my son, when he shall arrive at the age of 15 years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Works, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus, and Cato's Letters. May the spirit of liberty rest upon him."

Many of the ideas of Locke, Harrington, Hooker, Milton, and others had been so often repeated that they were commonplace. People who never read these philosophers themselves were made familiar with their ideas through the writings of Jefferson, Otis, the Adams, and others.¹³

⁹ F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, Ch. 1, "The significance of the frontier in American history," and ch. 3, "The old West" are, for the purposes of this study, especially valuable. See also, Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, ch. 15, "The new West," and Carl Becker, *Beginnings of the American People*, ch. 5, "The American people in the 18th Century."

¹⁰ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main current in American thought*. Vol. 1, "The Colonial mind," especially, Book II.

¹¹ Charles Francis Adams, (ed.) *The Works of John Adams*, IV, 204.

¹² An analysis of the writings of these men is best found in Paul Janet's, *Histoire de la science politique*. A brief account of great value is H. J. Laski's, *Political Thought from Locke to Bentham*. One should also mention W. A. Dunning's, *History of Political Thought from Luther to Montesquieu*, as the best general account in English.

¹³ Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*, 76.

¹⁴ Professor Becker says of the Declaration of Independence that the strength of that document was that the ideas expressed in it were what all were thinking, that it was commonplace. Page 24, of his, *Declaration of Independence*. On page 79 of the same book he says, "The lineage is direct Jefferson copied Locke and Locke quoted Hooker. In political theory and in political practice the American Revolution drew its inspiration from the parliamentary struggle of the seventeenth century. . . . In 1776 it was commonplace doctrine, everywhere to be met with, as Jefferson said, 'whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right.' And in sermons also, he might have added. But it may be that Jefferson was not very familiar with sermons."

An examination of the constitution of North Carolina of 1776 shows that it is divided into two parts, the first being a Declaration of Rights, and the second the form of government or constitution proper.¹⁴ The legislature was composed of two houses, and was as supreme as ever John Locke might desire.¹⁵ All officers of importance, including the judiciary and military were elected by it. The governor, "for the time being" was placed in command of the military forces, and "for the time being" he could spend the sums voted by the legislature. In addition he had the power of pardon (somewhat limited). The judiciary were to hold office during good behavior. The suffrage and other features of the document are discussed below.

The minutes of the meetings of the North Carolina Congress contain no information as to the sources of the North Carolina constitution of 1776. They only show that on Wednesday, November 13th, 1776, a committee of the North Carolina Congress was formed to draw up a constitution and a bill of rights,¹⁶ that this committee reported December 6th, 1776,¹⁷ and that the constitution was adopted December 18th.¹⁸ The bill of rights was adopted the day before.¹⁹

The constitution was up for consideration and debate at but six meetings,²⁰ and the bill of rights at only four.²¹ Moreover, even those meetings were crowded full with other matters chiefly pertaining to the conduct of the war. It would seem safe, therefore, to infer that but few changes were made in the proposed drafts, although the minutes indicate that there were some.²²

In the framing of the constitution the Founding Fathers of North Carolina were aided materially by the very definite instructions given by at least two of the counties, Mecklenburg²³ and Halifax,²⁴ to their representatives in the Provincial Congress. These instruc-

¹⁴ B. P. Poore, *The Federal and State Constitutions*, II, 1409-1414.

¹⁵ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, Book II, sect. 150.

¹⁶ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 918.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 954.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 974.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 973.

²⁰ Dec. 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18. From a letter by Samuel Johnston to James Iredell, written from Halifax, December 9, 1776, it would appear that some of the members were eager to finish their work and go home. The letter reads, ". . . The Constitution is to be debated to-day, and some talk of finishing it as soon as that is agreed on; while others are for staying to appoint all the officers of the State, and to establish Courts of Justice, which of these plans will take place is uncertain. No one appears to have sufficient spirit to set them right. . . ." *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 1041.

²¹ Dec. 14, 16, 17, 18.

²² S. A. Ashe, in his *History of North Carolina* says to the contrary that "the constitution was under consideration by the entire body for twelve days, when it was adopted on December 18th. Every word in it was often weighed, debated, and passed on by the house itself." I, 566.

²³ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 870 a—870 f.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 870 f—870 h.

tions are rather complete, and while their phraseology is not followed in the constitution as adopted, the ideas and principles which they enunciate are to be found there.

The "Declaration of Rights" as found in the North Carolina constitution of 1776²⁵ is in large part identical with the Virginia "Bill of Rights"²⁶ which had been adopted six months earlier.²⁷ The identity extends not only to subject matter, but also to organization and phraseology. For example, the first clause of the North Carolina bill reads, "That all political power is vested in and derived from the people only." The second clause of the Virginia Bill is, "That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people. . . ." Upon this same subject the Mecklenburg resolutions, spoken of above, declared:

5. That you shall endeavor that the following maxim be substantially acknowledged in the Bill of Rights (viz.):

1st. Political power is of two kinds, one principal and superior, the other derived and inferior.

2d. The principal supreme power is possessed by the people at large, the derived and inferior power by the servants which they employ.

3d. Whatever people are delegated, chosen, employed and intrusted by the people are their servants and can possess only derived inferior power.

4th. Whatever is constituted and ordained by the principal supreme power can not be altered, suspended or abrogated by any other power, but the same power that ordained may alter, suspend and abrogate its own ordinances.

5th. The rules whereby the inferior power is to be exercised are to be constituted by the principal supreme power, and can be altered, suspended and abrogated by the same and no other.

6th. No authority can exist or be exercised but what shall appear to be ordained and created by the principal supreme power or by derived inferior power which the principal supreme power hath authorized to create such authority.

7th. That the derived inferior power can by no construction or pretense assume or exercise a power to subvert the principal supreme power.

Similar but shorter articles on the same subject appear in the Halifax resolutions, and both sets of resolutions are of interest not only because they fully state the doctrine of popular sovereignty

²⁵ Poore, II, 1409.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 1908.

²⁷ The Virginia *Declaration of Rights* as a whole was written by George Mason. Madison: *Writings* (ed. by Gaillard Hunt) I, 32, footnote 1. Cf. the suggestion of Ashe who in his *History of North Carolina*, I, 563, footnote, gives the credit to Thomas Jefferson. The preamble to the "Plan of Government" was written by Jefferson.

which is found in the first article of the North Carolina Declaration of Rights, but they also state the philosophical principal at the basis of the doctrine of judicial review.

When in 1796 this doctrine was enunciated in the case of *Bayard v. Singleton*,²⁸ the decision of the court was directly in line with the theory of government proclaimed above. The judge in this case declared:

But that it was clear, that no act they could pass, could by any means repeal or alter the constitution, because if they could do this, they would at the same instant of time, destroy their own existence as a Legislature, and dissolve the government thereby established. Consequently the constitution (which the judicial power was bound to take notice of as much as any other law whatever,) standing in full force as the fundamental law of the land, notwithstanding the act on which the present motion was grounded, the same act must of course, in that instance, stand as abrogated and without any effect.

The second article in the Declaration of Rights, "That the people of this State ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof," is also indicative of the theory of popular sovereignty, and the fact that two articles should be given over to the same topic shows how important it was in the eyes of the people.

Article three of the North Carolina Declaration which reads, "That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public services," was copied verbatim from the fourth article of the Virginia Bill, with the omission of the clause in the Virginia statement which denounced hereditary offices. This also is in harmony with the third article of the Mecklenburg instructions, which advised their representatives to "oppose everything that leans to aristocracy or power in the hands of the rich and chief men exercised to the oppression of the poor."

The sixth article of the Mecklenburg instructions says, "That you shall endeavor that the Government shall be so formed that the derived inferior power shall be divided into three branches distinct from each other," and then it proceeds to name the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. So also the framers of the Halifax resolutions stated that they "require that in framing the

²⁸ 1 Martin (N. C.) 42. This decision declared ultra vires an act of the North Carolina legislature which denied the right of trial by jury in a civil case.

civil government the derived inferior power shall be divided into three branches. . . ." This principle of separation of powers is the basis of article four of the North Carolina Declaration, the wording appearing to be a shortened form of the fifth article of the Virginia Bill of Rights.²⁹

In 1689 the English parliament declared,³⁰ "That the pretended Power of Suspending of Laws or the Execution of Laws by Regall Authority without the consent of Parlyament is illegall," and with a slight change of wording (borrowed from the seventh article of the Virginia Bill) this clause was made the fifth article of the North Carolina Declaration of Rights. The Mecklenburg instructions quoted above also held to the same theory.

Article six of the North Carolina Declaration is exactly the same as the first clause in article six of the Virginia Bill. It declares that the election of members of the legislature "ought to be free,"³¹ in the same spirit as the English Declaration of Rights declared "That the Election of Members of Parlyament ought to be free." Two of the following articles, the seventh, and the ninth, both of which deal with procedure in criminal cases, are reworded from article eight of the Virginia Bill.

The English Declaration of Rights decried as a grievance that "excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of laws made for the liberty of the subjects"³² and that "excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted."³³ The Virginia Bill of Rights³⁴ declared that this ought not to be done, and the North Carolina Declaration in article ten follows almost word for word the provision as written by her sister state.³⁵

The North Carolina Declaration in article eleven follows verbatim article ten of the Virginia Bill in denouncing the use of general war-

²⁹ In the case of *Buyard v. Singleton*, 1 Martin (N. C.) 42, there is the following interesting comment: "Ashe, J. observed, that at the time of our separation from Great Britain, we were thrown into a similar condition with a set of people ship-wrecked and cast on a maroon'd planet without laws, without magistrates, without government, or any legal authority—that being thus circumstanced, the people of this country, with a general union of sentiment, by their delegates, met in Congress, and formed that system or those fundamental principles comprised in the constitution, dividing the powers of government into separate and distinct branches, to wit: the legislative the judicial and executive, and assigning to each, several and distinct powers, and prescribing their several limits and boundaries. . . ."

³⁰ Declaration of Rights.

³¹ Another section of the English *Declaration of Right* denounces the king for having violated "The freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament."

³² Article 10.

³³ Article 11.

³⁴ Article 9.

³⁵ "That excessive bail should [Va. "ought"] not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

rants in the searching of "suspected places, without evidence of the fact committed" and for arresting of unnamed persons, except that the North Carolina document calls the use of such warrants "dangerous to liberty," while that of Virginia says they are "grievous and oppressive."

The Great Charter of 1215 provided³⁶ that, "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgement of his peers or by the law of the land." This provision was part of the law which the colonists inherited from England, and was incorporated into the Bills of Rights of several of the state constitutions, and is the basis of the twelfth article of the North Carolina Declaration. In the writing of this article the Founding Fathers seem to have been aided by the phraseology of the twenty-first article of the Maryland Declaration of Rights.³⁷ The Maryland constitution was completed but a few days before the North Carolina constitution,³⁸ but it was evidently used to a considerable degree by the framers of the later document. There is some variation between the twelfth article of the North Carolina Declaration and the twenty-first article of the Maryland, due to the omission of a few words from the former which are contained in the latter.³⁹

Article thirteen also appears to have been copied from the Maryland Declaration, although the identity as to diction is not so complete. Both provide that "every freeman" should be able to maintain his rights⁴⁰ of legal action, and that such remedies should not be delayed or denied. With the fourteenth and fifteenth articles we go back to the Virginia Bill.⁴¹ The first of these articles provided for trial by jury, a subject of general interest at the time. This interest may be seen by the eighteenth of the Mecklenburg instructions which admonished their representatives to "endeavor that trials by Jury shall be forever had and used in their utmost purity." This article in the constitution on the subject of trial by jury was

³⁶ Article 39, See also article 3 of the Petition of Right (1628).

³⁷ Poore, II, 817.

³⁸ The Maryland constitution was completed November 11, 1776, two days before the North Carolina committee was appointed.

³⁹ These words which were omitted in the North Carolina article are shown in brackets. "That no freeman ought to be taken, [or] imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or privileges, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but [by the judgement of his peers, or] by the law of the land."

⁴⁰ The North Carolina provision is narrower than that of Maryland, as it only protects a freeman from illegal restraints "of his liberty" and the other covers both personal and property rights.

⁴¹ Virginia: *Bill of Rights*, Article 11 and 12.

in a few years to receive an interpretation in the famous case of *Bayard v. Singleton*,⁴² in which case an act of the North Carolina state legislature was held to be unconstitutional because in conflict with the fundamental law. This case was decided seven years before the case of *Marbury v. Madison*.⁴³

The Great Charter of 1215 stipulated that, "no scutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom save by the common council of our kingdom."⁴⁴ Again in the Petition of Right of 1628 and the Declaration of Right of 1689 this idea is repeated. So when it appeared in article sixteen of the North Carolina Declaration, the Founding Fathers were but claiming their heritage.⁴⁵

Section thirteen of the Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights reads as follows: "That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and the state; and as standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up; and the military power should be kept under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power."⁴⁶ With exception of the omission of the words, "of themselves" the North Carolina Declaration in article seventeen follows the Pennsylvania document verbatim in establishing this doctrine of the English constitutionalists. That the North Carolina provision is less radical than that of Pennsylvania is evident.⁴⁷

Three other articles copied from the Pennsylvania document are the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first. The first of these, following verbally the Pennsylvania provision,⁴⁸ provides for the right of assembly and petition.⁴⁹ The first clause in article two of the Pennsylvania Declaration was copied verbatim to make the next article of the North Carolina document. It provides, "that all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conciences."⁵⁰ So too was

⁴² 1 Martin (N. C.) 42, (1796).

⁴³ Decided in 1803.

⁴⁴ Clause 12.

⁴⁵ A similar clause is to be found in the Maryland Declaration, Article 12.

⁴⁶ The Pennsylvania constitution was completed September 28, 1776.

⁴⁷ Section five of the English *Declaration of Right* is a denunciation of James II for having raised and kept "a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law."

⁴⁸ Article 16.

⁴⁹ Article 2 of the English *Declaration of Right* (1689) charges James II for having imprisoned and prosecuted worthy prelates "for having humbly petitioned" him.

⁵⁰ Article 21 of the Mecklenburg instructions is in accord with this provision. This article of the instructions declares, "That all professing christians shall enjoy the free and undisturbed exercises of religion and may worship God according to their consciences without restraint except idolatrous worshipers." The third of the Halifax instructions is even more liberal. It says, in part, "We require that in framing the religious constitution you insist upon a free and unrestrained exercise of religion to every individual agreeable to that mode which each man shall choose for himself and that no one shall be compelled to pay towards the support of any clergyman except such as he shall choose to be instructed by. . . ."

article twenty-one of the North Carolina Declaration a shortened copy of article twenty-four of the Pennsylvania model.⁵¹

Not only were frequent elections deemed necessary for the preservation of liberty, but article twenty finds them necessary "for the redress of grievances, and for the amending and strengthening of the laws." The Maryland Declaration⁵² holds that for these purposes "the legislature ought to be frequently convened,"⁵³ thus following more closely than did the North Carolina provision, the clause in the English Declaration of Rights on the subject which was "that for Redresse of all Grievances and for Amending strengthening and preserving of the lawes Parlyaments ought to be held frequently."

Articles twenty-two and twenty-three are similar to, but not identical with, articles forty and thirty-nine respectively of the Maryland Declaration. They deal with hereditary honors⁵⁴ and monopolies. But article twenty-four which is on the subject of *ex post facto* laws, is a verbatim copy of article fifteen of the Maryland Declaration.⁵⁵

The last article of the North Carolina Declaration of Rights deals with the questions which had arisen out of the boundary disputes with Virginia and South Carolina⁵⁶; it allows the "establishment of one or more governments westward of this state,"⁵⁷ and it secures to the Indians the use of their hunting grounds and titles to all the others who had possession in lands.⁵⁸

That the wording of most of the provisions of the Declaration of Rights was copied from other constitutions does not vitiate the value of the Declaration. It merely shows that the people of the several states were of a common mind and drew their inspiration from similar sources. The phrases therein used were on the tongue of all. For example, in a letter⁵⁹ of William Hooper, delegate from

⁵¹ The following is the Pennsylvania article with the copied words enclosed in brackets "[That a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles], and a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality [are (is) absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty], and keep a government free. . . ."

⁵² Article 10.

⁵³ Some suggestion might also have been derived from article 5 of the Maryland Declaration which reads, "[T]hat the right in the people to participate in the Legislature, is the best security of liberty, and the foundation of all free government; for this purpose, elections ought to be free and frequent. . . ." Article 12 of the Mecklenburg instructions also recommends annual elections.

⁵⁴ See also article 3 of the Mecklenburg instructions.

⁵⁵ The same principle is found in the sixth provision of the Halifax instructions which says that the legislature may not deprive an individual of his rights except as punishment for some "declared offence" and then only after he is found guilty by a court.

⁵⁶ Greene, *Provincial America*, 191, 192.

⁵⁷ For a brief account of the movements toward statehood on the part of these western territories, see Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, ch. 15, "The New West."

⁵⁸ This article appears to have been suggested by the last article in the Virginia *Frame of Government*. Both deal with the same subject and make use of the same terminology.

⁵⁹ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 867.

North Carolina to the Continental Congress, addressed to the North Carolina Congress at Halifax, there occurs this familiar admonition, that "it is necessary that recurrence should often be had to the original principles to prevent these evils which in the course of years must creep in and vitiate every human institution."⁶⁰

As has been said before, the ideas of the Declaration of Independence were commonplace, and the North Carolina Declaration of Rights is, to a large extent, a repetition of these. It was only the diction of the other constitutions which was adopted. The Declaration of Independence states only in different words, some of the ideas found in the North Carolina Declaration, that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," that "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish" their governments. Both deal with the questions of suspension of laws, the keeping of standing armies in time of peace, the relation of the military to the civil authorities, taxation, trial by jury, and the right of petition.

Then when one examines the writings of John Locke⁶¹ one will again find many of the same principles. Locke declared that taxation must be by "the consent of the majority," either directly or indirectly through representatives.⁶² He advocated separation of powers⁶³ and the supremacy of the legislature.⁶⁴ He recognized the right of revolution and the power of the people to set up new governments.⁶⁵ The English recognized the influence of Locke in America, as Dean Tucker is quoted to have said that, "The Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war."⁶⁶

When one turns to the Frame of Government, or constitution proper, the sources of the provisions are not so evident. Experience dictated the provisions and the connection between the two is more difficult to show.

In the April meeting of the North Carolina Congress there had been an attempt to draw up a constitution, and an outline of the proposed plan has been preserved for us in a letter of Thomas Jones to James Iredell, dated April 28, 1776.⁶⁷ "The plan, as it now

⁶⁰ Cf. to the Declaration of Rights, article 21.

⁶¹ Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, sect. 140.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, sect. 143-147.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, sect. 150.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, sect. 219-220.

⁶⁶ Laski, *Political Thought from Locke to Bentham*, 71.

⁶⁷ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 1033-4.

stands," he wrote, "will be subject to many alterations; at present it is in the following manner:-1st. a House of the representatives of the people—all freeholders of one year standing to vote; and, 2nd. a Legislative council:-to consist of one member from each county in the Province—to sit as an upper House, and these two houses are to be a check on each other, as no law can be made without the consent of both, and none but freeholders will have the right to vote for the members of this council. Next, an Executive Council, to consist of a President and six Councillors: to be always sitting; to do official business of government—such as managing the army, issuing commissions, military and civil; filling up vacancies; calling the two branches of the Legislature together; receiving foreign ambassadors, etc., etc. The President will have a right to be chosen yearly for three years successively, and no more, until the expiration of three years thereafter. So much for the outline of the constitution."

The framers of the constitution adopted in December seem to have obtained some assistance from this earlier draft. As suggested by the earlier plan the governor was elected yearly and was not eligible to that office longer than three years, in six successive years.⁶⁸ In the election of the members of the Senate the suffrage was limited to freeholders,⁶⁹ but not, as was suggested, in the election of the members of both houses. Representation in the legislature was by counties⁷⁰ and a council of seven members was provided to "advise the governor in the execution of his office."⁷¹

In turning to Locke, we again find many of the principles upon which the constitution of 1776 founded the government of the State. Financial control, was, as he advocated, placed in the representatives of the people; there was, in theory at least, a separation of powers, but of the three branches the legislature was supreme. The power of convoking and adjourning the legislature was not given to the executive⁷² and there was a provision against entails.⁷³ He also held that the people should be protected against tyranny by having all laws known in advance. On the other hand, Locke's

⁶⁸ Article 15.

⁶⁹ Article 7.

⁷⁰ Articles 2 and 3.

⁷¹ Article 16.

⁷² Locke seems to have feared giving this power to the executive; see sections 153 to 155, of his *Two Treatises of Government*.

⁷³ Locke, sect. 202

doctrine that representation should be apportioned to population was not accepted.

John Adams, a follower of Locke, was more directly a source. Thomas Burke, the chairman of the committee appointed in the spring to draw up a constitution made an application to John Adams for advice⁷⁴ and in answer he wrote a letter to John Penn with suggestions for the proposed constitution.⁷⁵ This letter is in many parts the same as a pamphlet which Adams has previously published under the title of, "Thought on government applicable to the present state of the American colonies."⁷⁶

We will note first the suggestions of Adams which appear to have been acceptable to the Founding Fathers. It should not be thought, however, that the letter of Adams was the one persuasive force which resulted in certain of the provisions in the constitution. The Founding Fathers probably found the suggestions of Adams acceptable because he agreed with them, because he argued from similar premises and came to the similar conclusions.

His first suggestion was that elections should be annual, for, he said, "there is not in all science a maxim more infallible than this, where annual elections end, there slavery begins." There should be a bicameral legislature, which should annually, by joint ballot, elect the governor, and the same method of election should be used for the election of the secretary, treasurer, and attorney general. These officers should not be eligible for more than three years at a time, nor re-election until after an interval of three years.⁷⁷ He suggested forms for writs, commissions and indictments.⁷⁸ Judges, as Adams advocated, were chosen for good behavior. Lastly, Adams admonished that "Two things are indispensably to be adhered to,—one is, some regulation for securing forever an equitable choice of representatives: another is, the education of youth, both in literature and morals." The constitution did not come up to his desire on the first point, but as to the second it did direct the legislature to establish public schools.

⁷⁴ Charles Francis Adams, (ed), *The Works of John Adams*, I, 209.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 203, 209. The editor of John Adams works, Charles F. Adams, has the following note attached to the letter. "In the month of January, 1776, the delegates of North Carolina were authorized by the colonial legislature, to apply to Mr. Adams for his views of the nature of the government it would be proper to form, in case of a final dissolution of the authority of the crown. The following letter, addressed to Mr. John Penn, one of the number, was the reply."

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 189-202.

⁷⁷ The North Carolina constitution applied this provision only to the governor.

⁷⁸ "Let commissions run thus: 'colony of North Carolina to A. B. greeting, etc., and be tested by the governor.' " Let writs run: 'The Colony of, etc., to the sheriff,' etc." "Let indictments conclude: 'against the peace of the colony of North Carolina,' and the dignity of the same," or if you please 'against the peace of the Thirteen United Colonies.' "

Not all of the other suggestions made by John Adams were incorporated into the constitution. As was noted above, the legislature was not made "an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large." Nor was the governor given the power of veto, although he was, as Adams recommended, divested "of those badges of slavery called prerogatives." The governor was not given the power to appoint the judicial, civil and military officers, with the advice of the council, and the upper house was not elected by the members of the lower.

That John Adams was in agreement with the Founding Fathers upon other points can be seen by an examination of his letters. In one, directed to Elbridge Gerry he wrote; "Your very acceptable letter of the 13th of December is now before me. Our opinions of the necessity of keeping the military power under the direction and control of the legislature, I always thought were alike."⁷⁹ And in a letter to Richard Henry Lee,⁸⁰ which obtained wide circulation,⁸¹ he advocated that judges, at least those of the supreme court, should be incapacitated from holding executive or legislative offices. The constitution as adopted was in accord wih these views.

John Adams' approval, at least on one point, of the constitution as adopted can be seen in a letter to John Warren.⁸² "In Virginia and North Carolina," he said, "they have made an effort for the destruction of bigotry, which is very remarkable. They have abolished their establishments of episcopacy so far as to give complete liberty of conscience to dissenters, an acquisition in favor of the rights of mankind which is worth all the blood and treasure which has been or will be spent in this war."

Not only was the Declaration of Rights largely copied from other constitutions but some of the provisions of the Frame of government may be traced to the same sources.

Sections thirty-eight to forty-four inclusive, with exception of section forty-two, of the North Carolina constitution are nearly bodily copied from the constitution of Pennsylvania.⁸³ These sections deal with the election of local officers, the imprisonment of debtors, the naturalization of aliens, the establishment of schools, the regulation of entails, and the sanctity of the Declaration of Rights.

⁷⁹ Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, III, 246. (Jan. 2, 1776).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 186.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 185.

⁸² *Ibid.*, IX, 451.

⁸³ Sect. 38, N. C. follows sect. 31 Pa.; section 39 is identical to sect. 28; sect. 40 closely follows sect. 42; sect. 41 is like sect. 44; sect. 43 is exactly like sect. 37; and sect. 44 is exactly like sect. 46 except that the word "state" is substituted for the word "commonwealth".

The preamble of the constitution of North Carolina follows the preamble of the constitution of New Jersey⁸⁴ in declaring that "allegiance and protection" are in the nature of things, reciprocal ties, and that allegiance should be refused when protection is withdrawn. They assert that George the Third, abetted by parliament, had withdrawn his protection, and now was waging war against them, and in consequence a dissolution of government had taken place. The New Jersey constitution was published a day before the Declaration of Independence and therefore the clause which appears in the North Carolina preamble concerning the Declaration of Independence did not appear there. But both end by declaring that the constitution was the work of representatives of the people of the State. Only the North Carolina preamble follows that of Pennsylvania in the use of the phrase "representatives of the free-men."⁸⁵

From the constitution of Delaware,⁸⁶ which had been adopted September 21, 1776, was copied with slight changes, a provision which was made into article thirty-one of the constitution.⁸⁷ This article makes clergymen ineligible for membership in the house of the legislature or in the council. One other article in the Delaware constitution⁸⁸ may have suggested other officers who should be likewise made ineligible, although English constitutional history, as has been suggested elsewhere, was probably the source of both provisions.

It does not appear on the face of the constitution that the Founding Fathers of North Carolina copied much from the Virginia Frame of Government. But there are certain similarities which will be noted. Both provide for bicameral legislatures, but in Virginia the members of the upper house were to serve for a term of four years, while in North Carolina the term of the members of both houses was one year. In both states, each county was represented in the lower house by two members, and certain designed towns by one member.

Other similarities are found in the provisions concerning the election of the speakers in the houses of the legislatures; the filling

⁸⁴ Poore, *Constitutions*, II, 1310.

⁸⁵ Some aid also may have been received from the preamble of the Pennsylvania constitution. It, like the North Carolina provision, denounces the King of England for having withdrawn his protection and for waging war against the colonies, thus dissolving their allegiance, and forcing them to set up a government of their own.

⁸⁶ Poore, I, 273.

⁸⁷ Article 29 of the Delaware constitution.

⁸⁸ Article 18.

of "intermediate" vacancies; the annual election of a governor by a joint ballot of both houses; the creation of a council of state; the conferring on the governor the power of granting pardons and reprieves, "except where the prosecution shall be carried on by the general assembly";⁸⁹ the annual election of delegates to the Continental Congress; the granting to the governor, with the advice of the council of state, the power to "embody the militia"; the election by joint ballot of the two houses of the judges of the higher state courts; that the judges should hold office during good behavior; and that a treasurer should be appointed by the legislature, by joint ballot of both houses. Lastly, both provide the same method of impeaching the governor and other officers.

The last and most important source of the provisions in the North Carolina constitution of 1776, was the experience of the people of that State. The bicameral legislature, the governor, the council, and the judiciary, all were there. Changes were, of course, made at the time of the Revolution, but there are indications which tend to show that the changes were not so great as we have sometimes thought.⁹⁰ *Plus ca change, plus c'est la même chose.*

It was in connection with the powers of the governor that the greatest changes were made, but these only were for the purpose of making the governor that figurehead in law which in fact the colonial legislature had long sought to make him. His tenure of office was no longer indefinite, and he became responsible to the legislature for his acts. His power of appointment was largely taken from him, even the appointment of the military officials. He could no longer veto the acts of the legislature, neither could he call, prorogue, nor dissolve that body. His powers in the field of judicial affairs were taken from him, and he could neither erect courts nor act as a judicial officer. But it should not be thought that in changing the legal powers of the govenor, there was any great change in theory. The constitutional history of the colony was along this line of development, and, as was noted above, the Founding Fathers in making the governor a weak executive were only putting into effect the principles which they had sought to

⁸⁹ "House of Delegates" in the Virginia constitution.

⁹⁰ Margaret Alexander, *The Development of the Power of the State Executive*, 181. Here it was shown that by 1743 in New York the patronage was practically in the control of the legislature. See also an article by J. M. Gitterman, "The Council of Appointment in New York," *Political Science Quarterly*, VII, 84. For a general discussion of this point see, Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 154-197.

bring about in the earlier history of the colony, chiefly through the control over the finances.⁹¹

Under the colonial form of government, the governor had been obliged to act in many cases with the advice and consent of the council, and this continued to be the case under the constitution. The method of selection of the members of the council was changed, from nomination by the governor and appointment by the king with the co-operation of the board of trade to the election by the legislature, but the important function of the council of acting as an executive commission remained. The council ceased to be the upper house of the legislature, that function being given to the new Senate. The practice of the council in keeping a journal⁹² was continued under a constitutional provision.⁹³ Dr. Raper, in his study of the North Carolina colonial government found that between 1754 and 1775 seven members of the council were frequently present at its meeting,⁹⁴ and this fact may account for the constitutional provision making that the number of members of the new council. So in all, it can be said that the new constitution did not make a great change along this line, other than in applying the doctrine of separation of powers, and giving the legislative powers of the old council to a new body.⁹⁵

A representative legislative body had been provided for in the charters of 1663 and 1665, and this body continued through the whole of the history of the colony, continually seeking for more power, and often accomplishing its aim. This representative body was only half of the colonial legislature, but with the coming of independence the upper house was also made representative. During the royal period the lower house of the legislature had claimed for itself some important rights as inherent in it. In 1715-1716 an act had been passed ordering biennial meetings of the assembly, in spite of what the proprietors desired. The same act regulated the elections, the qualifications of the voters and of the representatives.⁹⁶ Debates on the assembly's powers in these fields continued, until settled in 1776 by the Revolution and the adoption of the state constitution. While in theory the lower house had few military powers, yet in practice it had exercised great influence over military

⁹¹ Raper, *North Carolina*, chs. 2 and 9.

⁹² Raper, *North Carolina*, 76.

⁹³ Article 16.

⁹⁴ Raper, *North Carolina*, 78.

⁹⁵ The position of the Council under the crown is treated in chapter 3 of Dr. Raper's study.

⁹⁶ Raper, *North Carolina*, 87.

affairs due to its control over money.⁹⁷ This control also was continued under the constitution.⁹⁸

It had long been the custom in colonial North Carolina that the treasurers should be appointed by the legislatures,⁹⁹ and this plan was continued under the new constitution.¹⁰⁰ So also in 1760 the legislature had undertaken to nominate the justices of the lower courts,¹⁰¹ hence the constitutional provision which placed the appointment of all of the judges in their hands was but an extension of this principle.¹⁰² That part of article forty-six which deals with the question of quorum settled the long dispute upon the subject, the colonial governors having at times insisted that less than that number could do business.¹⁰³ The theroy had been that the governor might more easily control a smaller number of the members than he might a majority.

In 1771 the crown had disallowed an act of the colonial assembly establishing Queen's college in Mecklenburg County, which was to be a college for Presbyterians,¹⁰⁴ and the Mecklenburg instructions asked specifically for an institution of higher learning. This demand was met in article forty-one of the constitution.

The Mecklenburg and Halifax resolutions constitute one stage in the development of the state constitution. Because they were the formal instructions of the people of those counties to their representatives, they indicate the desires of the people, which under the doctrine of popular sovereignty should be looked upon as the final source of all law. Looking first at the shorter of the two documents, the Halifax instructions, we find, in addition to the things already noted, that in the third instruction there is an anti-Catholic provision, much in the same spirit as the thirty-second article of the constitution; in the ninth instruction it is suggested, "That no person shall be capable of acting in the exercise of any more than one of these branches at the same time. . . .," a principle provided for in detail by articles twenty-five to thirty of the constitution; the tenth instruction asked for a bicameral legislature, which was provided by the first article of the constitution; the

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁹⁸ Article 14.

⁹⁹ Raper, *North Carolina*, 200.

¹⁰⁰ Article 22.

¹⁰¹ Raper, *North Carolina*, 155, 209.

¹⁰² Article 13.

¹⁰³ Raper, *North Carolina*, 217.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 227.

twelfth requested that elections should be by ballot, and this was provided by the third article of the constitution; and finally the thirteenth instruction favored the annual election of the executive, and "that no person shall be capable of serving therein more than three years or capable of being elected thereto until he has been three years out," which idea was incorporated into the sixteenth article of the constitution, as finally adopted.

The Mecklenburg instructions called for a declaration of independence,¹⁰⁵ which is found in the preamble to the constitution; it asked that no officer in the army or collector should be allowed a seat in the General Assembly,¹⁰⁶ and this is provided for in articles twenty-six and twenty-seven of the constitution; the instructions expressed the desire that the representatives of the State to the Continental Congress should not be appointed for a longer time than one year, and should not be capable of serving more than three years successively,¹⁰⁷ and this request was carried out in article thirty-seven of the constitution; the instructions requested that treasurers and secretaries of the State,¹⁰⁸ and the judges of the higher courts¹⁰⁹ should be appointed by the state legislature, which was the method adopted.¹¹⁰

The nineteenth of the Mecklenburg instructions appears from the subject matter and phrasing to have been the model for the thirty-second article of the constitution, only the constitutional provision is a little less rigid, as it did allow atheists and Roman Catholics to occupy military positions, while the instructions would have them excluded from not only the civil but the military as well, the statement being very broad,—"any office of trust or profit in the State of North Carolina."

As in most of the other states, the revolutionary constitution of North Carolina provided that the governor should be elected by the legislature¹¹¹ for a term of one year.¹¹² This method was not a new one in America, as it had been employed in both Rhode Island

¹⁰⁵ Article 1 of the instructions.

¹⁰⁶ Article 14 of the instructions. The movement to exclude place-men from the English Parliament began in 1706, the aim being to limit the power of the administration, through the patronage of the Crown, to influence completely the votes of the House. Walpole caused such bills to be rejected in 1730, 1734, and 1740, generally in the House of Lords, but in 1743 an act was passed (15 Geo. II, Cap. 22) which excluded certain revenue officers and a few others. C. G. Robertson, *Select Statutes, Cases and Documents*, 212.

¹⁰⁷ Article 15 of the instructions.

¹⁰⁸ Article 16 of the instructions.

¹⁰⁹ Article 17 of the instructions.

¹¹⁰ Article 22, 24 and 13 of the constitution.

¹¹¹ This was true in seven other states.

¹¹² This provision was found in nine other state constitutions.

and Connecticut.¹¹³ In North Carolina, moreover, the colonial governor was required to act in accordance with the advice of his council,¹¹⁴ and the new constitution continued this requirement. Looking at the powers of the governor, it was only following colonial precedent that the governor was given command of the military forces and was granted the power of pardon and reprieve.

It was in the power that was denied the governor that the greatest change was made. He could not call special sessions, and was denied the power to prorogue and dissolve the legislature. The denial of this power to the governor probably grew out of the long fight which the legislature of North Carolina had made for biennial sessions. Failing in this endeavor they had made a last attempt, in 1773, for a triennial session law.¹¹⁵

Because the royal governor had made use of his veto power in a fashion which had been irksome to the colonists¹¹⁶ was a sufficient reason for denial of power even to a governor who was to be elected by the legislature. The same reasoning holds true regarding the judicial power of the governor.¹¹⁷

Freemen possessing fifty acres could vote for members of the senate, and freemen who were taxpayers could participate in the election of the members of the lower house. These qualifications constituted but a slight change from the rule laid down in 1775 by the provisional government which restricted the right of suffrage to freeholders, but without stipulation as to the size of their estates.¹¹⁸ But neither the constitution of 1776, nor the law of 1775 was as liberal as the law of 1715 (repealed in 1735) giving the

¹¹³ The influence of the Connecticut charter may be seen in a letter from Samuel Johnston to James Iredell, which is here quoted in full, not only because it illustrates this point, but also because of its general interest. It was written from Halifax, the 20th of April, 1776. "Dear sir, We have not been able to agree on a Constitution. We have a meeting on it every evening, but can conclude on nothing. The great difficulty in our way is, how to establish a check on the Representatives of the people, to prevent them assuming more power than would be consistent with the liberties of the people; such as increasing the time of their duration and the like. Many projects have been proposed too tedious for a letter to communicate. Some have proposed that we should take up the plan of the Connecticut Constitution for a ground-work but with some amendments; such as that all the great officers, instead of being elected by the people at large, should be appointed by the Assembly; but that the Judges of our courts should hold their offices during good behavior. After all, it appears to me that there can be no check on the Representatives of the people in a democracy, but the people themselves; and in order that the check may be more effective I would have annual elections." *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 998.

¹¹⁴ Raper, *North Carolina*, 71.

¹¹⁵ Osgood, *American Colonies in the 18th Century*, IV, 167, also Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 228.

¹¹⁶ A law of North Carolina giving Presbyterian ministers the right to perform marriage ceremonies was disallowed, because it would deprive Church of England clergymen of their fees, although there were not six such ministers in the colony. Channing: *A History of the United States*, III, 6, note.

¹¹⁷ Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina, a Study in English Colonial Government*, 36-37.

¹¹⁸ Nevins, *The American States*, 96.

right to vote to all freemen.¹¹⁹ Freehold suffrage was, however, the general rule throughout the colonial period.¹²⁰

The constitution of 1776 gave to the two houses of the legislature the same power over contested elections that the lower house of the legislature had exercised since 1715 and the same can be said of its power of appointment.¹²¹ Under William III an act of Parliament had excluded office holders from the House of Commons,¹²² and this precedent and the other later statutes of Parliament on the subject were generally copied by the farmers of the new state constitution. Finally, it should be noted that the North Carolina House of Commons had had, in practice, the sole power to frame money bills, and that the constitution of 1776 simply perpetuated this practice.

There had been a long struggle in the colonies in favor of giving judges office for good behavior, in order to make them independent of royal authority.¹²³ This was contrary to the policy of the Board of Trade, which wished to have them appointed "during pleasure." The North Carolina legislature had repeatedly sought to make the tenure good behavior, only to have its statutes to that effect vetoed.¹²⁴ Under the constitution of 1776 its desires were finally accomplished.

The basis of representation remained under the new constitution what it had been in colonial times, namely the county, and certain designated towns. The change that was made here was to give each county two representatives instead of the old plan of five representatives to the Albemarle counties, three to Bertie County, and two to all the others. But attempts to give all counties equal representation dated back forty years.¹²⁵

In summary we can say, that the most important source of the North Carolina constitution of 1776 was the experience of the people of that State. No fundamental change was made which did not grow out of that experience. The second source in importance was the experience of the people of the sister states, especially as that experience was reflected in their new constitutions. Thirdly, there was the experience of the English people as a whole as shown

¹¹⁹ Osgood, *American Colonies in the 18th Century*, 166.

¹²⁰ Raper, *North Carolina*, 88-89.

¹²¹ John S. Bassett, *Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina*, 1663-1729, 64.

¹²² E. B. Greene, *Provincial America*, 68.

¹²³ Dickerson: *American Colonial Government*, 202-207.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 207. See also, Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*.

IV, 215.

¹²⁵ Osgood, IV, 165-169, 203.

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in such documents as the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the Declaration of Right. Lastly, there was the body of writings of political philosophers especially John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams. But it should be noted that these writings too were largely based on the experience of the English or American people. The new was but the continuation of the old, with modifications.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEES AND THE NEW ECHOTA TREATY OF 1835.

By GEORGE D. HARMON

The Cherokee Nation was once a powerful and progressive Indian tribe, inhabiting part of what is now North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. Between 1784 and 1836 no less than sixteen different treaties and agreements were negotiated with this famous tribe. Nearly all of these treaties involved land cessions and annuities. As the large cotton planters of Georgia exhausted their soil along the seaboard, they began to encroach upon the soil of the Indians and to demand the removal of all the tribes from the State. The state of Georgia accused the United States of bad faith in its failure to extinguish the Indian claims according to the agreement of 1802. Scarcely a month had elapsed after the election of Jackson in 1828 when the Georgia Legislature passed two acts for the purpose of paralysing the newly formed constitutional government of the Cherokees. The first annexed Cherokee lands to some of the northwestern counties of the State; and the second extended the laws of Georgia over these lands after January 1, 1830. The Cherokees at once issued a proclamation declaring such laws null and void, and appealed to the President of the United States for protection. To further complicate matters, gold was discovered in the Cherokee country in 1829. White people immediately rushed into the country in large numbers. These gold diggers were intruders; they violated the law passed by the Cherokee Nation which forbade anyone to settle or trade on their lands without a permit from the Cherokee officials, and also the Federal intercourse act which prohibited anyone from settling or trading on Indian territory without special license from the proper United States officials. Since no heed was paid by the interlopers to either the Cherokee or the Federal laws, a period of lawlessness prevailed. The Georgia laws were gradually enforced, despite the famous decisions of the United States Supreme Court.¹ Since Jackson sympathized with Georgia and was determined to move all the Indians west of the Mississippi, he refused to enforce the decisions of the Supreme Court and laws of the United States.

¹ *Georgia v. the Cherokee Nation; Worcester v. Georgia.*

Throughout the period from 1829 to 1835 Jackson put forth every effort to get the Cherokees to agree to join their brethren in the West.² After the President's patience was completely exhausted, he appointed Reverend John F. Schermerhorn and General William Carroll to negotiate a treaty of removal with the approval of the whole tribe, if possible, if not, to negotiate such a treaty with any group of them that would agree to move.³ When the commissioners saw that the vast majority of the Cherokees were determined not to yield a foot of their territory, they negotiated a treaty of removal with a few disgruntled chiefs at New Echota, Georgia, in 1835, which was ratified by the United States Senate early in 1836.

The treaty provided that the Cherokees cede all of their territory east of the Mississippi. They were allowed a common joint interest in the country occupied by the Western Cherokees, with a small additional tract on the northeast. The Cherokees were to be paid for all improvements, removed at the expense of the government, and subsisted for a year by the United States. The removal had to take place within two years from the date of the ratification of the treaty. The Indian debts had to be taken out of the \$5,000,000 which was promised them. The Federal government was authorized to build military posts and roads within their new western possessions. All annuities were commuted into a permanent national fund, the interest from which was to go toward the establishment and care of schools and an orphan asylum, and for general national purposes.⁴

The main body of the Cherokee Nation was so indignant at such high handed proceedings that they refused to have anything to do with the treaty, but at the end of two years they were rounded up like cattle and forced to set out for their new homes at the point of the bayonet.

The Cherokees who lived in western North Carolina refused to leave their eastern land. Their haunts were more inaccessible and their lands were less desirable, since the climate was not favorable for the production of cotton; therefore, they were in a more favor-

² In 1819 a large number of the Cherokees went West and settled upon lands which were given to them by the Government.

³ Eaton, R. C., *John Ross and the Cherokees*, pp. 67-71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71; Kappler, C. J. (ed) *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 440-46.

able position to fight a successful battle. They found some shelter also under articles eight and twelve of the treaty.

The eighth article of this agreement provided that "such persons and families as, in the opinion of the emigrating agent, are capable of subsisting and removing themselves, shall be permitted to do so; and they shall be allowed in full for all claims for the same twenty dollars for each member of their family; and in lieu of their one year's rations, they shall be paid the sum of thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents."

Article twelve reads as follows:⁵

Those individuals and families of the Cherokee Nation that are averse to a removal to the Cherokee Country west of the Mississippi, and are desirous to become citizens of the States where they reside, and such as are qualified to take care of themselves and their property, shall be entitled to receive their due portion of all the personal benefits accruing under this treaty for their claims, improvements, and per capita [improvements]; as soon as an appropriation is made for this treaty.

Article eight clearly limits the amount to be paid on claims for *removal* and *subsistance* to \$20 and \$33.33 respectively, making a total of \$53.33 for each Indian.⁶

In the early years of the treaty, articles eight and twelve were construed as authorizing the payment of \$53.33 to such of the Cherokees as, in the opinion of the agent and the Cherokee Committee, were deemed capable of removing themselves, or of becoming citizens of the State.⁷ Such was the interpretation apparently of all those who engaged in the negotiations at New Echota. It is only necessary to give the opinion of a few people who were instrumental in negotiating the agreement to substantiate the true interpretation.

William Rogers, who was a member of the negotiating committee on the part of the Cherokees, said:

It was the understanding of the parties to this treaty, before it was signed, that there were many families and persons amongst the Cherokees so averse to a removal to the West, that it was deemed politic and just to make the terms of the treaty such as to give perfect freedom of choice to all to go or stay, as they might prefer, excepting such only as might be deemed incompetent to take care of themselves and property.

⁵ Klapper, C. J. (ed) *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 443-44. Articles twelve and thirteen were subsequently stricken out by the Senate because "The President . . . has express'd his determination not to allow any pre-emption his desire being that the whole Cherokee people should remove together and establish themselves in the country provided for them West of the Mississippi river." *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

⁷ *Senate Documents*, 1st sess. 29th Doc. No. 408. Vol. VIII, p. 2.

This object was never lost sight of. The sub-committee⁸ most particularly insisted upon it; and not only upon the liberty of choice, but also upon securing to those who might prefer to remain a share of the money arising from the sale of the country, equal in every respect (the vested funds excepted)⁹ to that secured to the emigrants. I recollect very distinctly that when the twelfth article of said treaty was under consideration, the sub-committee objected to it as not being couched in language sufficiently explicit to put it beyond all doubt that those desirous to become citizens of the United States were to receive their *removal* and *subsistence money*. The Commissioner of the United States was appealed to on this particular point; and, in explanation, stated that the words "due portion of all the personal benefits accruing under this treaty" were so comprehensive as to preclude all idea of any interpretation by anyone so as to deprive those choosing to remain of their removal and subsistence money. He asked, is this not a personal benefit? If so, it is secured to them beyond a doubt. With this explanation the sub-committee were satisfied, and reported the treaty thus explained to the committee of negotiations. And it was so explained by the Commissioner to the people. With this explanation it was signed and sealed.¹⁰

J. F. Schermerhorn, the Commissioner on behalf of the United States who negotiated the treaty, said that the interpretation of the treaty by William Rogers was correct.¹¹

If it is permissible to indulge upon the reader's patience, the writer will quote from a letter of William Y. Honsell of Georgia to William H. Thomas,¹² Commissioner to the Cherokees in Western North Carolina:¹³

In reply to your inquires, I will state unhesitatingly, that I was present when Mr. Schermerhorn, as the Commissioner on behalf of the United States, submitted to the Cherokee Indians the propositions on which was based the treaty of the 29th of December, 1835, (and had examined its provisions before it was submitted). He distinctly informed them that such as desired to remain east, and become citizens of the States, would be entitled to receive all the personal benefits of the treaty, including their claims for removal and subsistence. This was at Red Clay council ground, in October, 1835.

After the same treaty was concluded and submitted to the Senate of the

⁸ The sub-committee was appointed by the negotiating committee on the part of the Cherokees to examine said treaty with a view to ascertaining whether it was the kind of treaty that ought to be signed by Cherokee authorities. *Senate Documents*, 1st sess., 29th Cong. Doc. No. 408, VIII, p. 6.

⁹ A certain part of the Indian fund was invested by the government in "safe and sound stocks." The interest therefrom went to benefit the Indians. See Kappler, *Indian Laws and Treaties*, II, p. 443.

¹⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st sess. 29 Cong., Doc. No. 408, Vol. VIII, p. 6

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹² Colonel William H. Thomas was at first an Indian trader who afterwards was recognized by the government as its agent among the North Carolina Cherokees.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

United States for ratification in the spring of 1836, I well recalled that you applied to Mr. Schermerhorn in my presence to know if the 12th article of the treaty secured to the Cherokees who should remain east commutation for removal and subsistence allowance of \$53.33 each, with all the advantages of the treaty? And his answer was, that on that point there could not remain a doubt, as such was the intention of the parties to the treaty; and on your requesting my opinion on the same subject, I gave it in accordance with that of Mr. Schermerhorn, not then, or now, in the least doubting the accuracy of that opinion.

With this explanation, a proposed supplement to the treaty was withheld, because it was believed that there could be no uncertainty about the future interpretation of the treaty.¹⁴

Subsequent to the ratification of the treaty, application was made by the Cherokees remaining in the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama, for the payment of the same amount as had been paid to their brethren remaining in the state of Georgia. Payment was refused in consequence of a change of public officers and a change of policy; and, therefore, a different construction was placed upon the provisions of the treaty.¹⁵ It was, thus, made necessary to ascertain which construction was correct. Would the language of the treaty bear a construction which would authorize the payment to the Cherokees remaining in other states the same sum as was paid to the Cherokees of Georgia?

The term "due portion" as used in the twelfth article, "is a term used in dividing estates, and means their exact dividend of the proceeds of the sale of the common property." The clause which followed in the same article: "All the personal benefits," limited their share to individual benefits, and excepted from distribution the twelve hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars, which, out of the proceeds of the sale of the common property, was set apart for the exclusive use of the emigrant Indians, under the fifteenth article."¹⁶ The clause in the treaty: "For their claims, improvements, and per capita" was used to describe of what the personal benefits consisted.¹⁷ The claims of the Indians were of two kinds: one for damages committed upon their property, and the other as a commutation of removal and subsistence allowance, in lieu of receiving these benefits in kind, which, by the eighth article, was limited to

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3; Kappeler, *Indian Laws and Treaties*, II, p. 446.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 444; *Senate Documents*, 1st. sess. 29th Cong. Doc. No. 408, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

\$53.33. The balance of the personal benefits was to be paid for improvements and per capita.¹⁸

This construction of the provisions of the treaty becomes clear when one examines the original propositions of the government of the United States upon which the treaty is based.

On March 16, 1835, propositions, acceptable to the government and to the Cherokee chiefs who favored a treaty, were drawn up and signed at the city of Washington, which were to be submitted to the Cherokee people for their approval by the Reverend J. F. Schermerhorn who was appointed by the President for the purpose. These propositions were accompanied by an address in favor of their acceptance from President Jackson.¹⁹

The Secretary of War was also interested in the negotiations and issued the following instructions for the benefit of the Indians who were expected to remain in the east: "The great object being to insure the entire removal of the tribe, no reservations will be granted. If individuals are desirous of remaining, they must purchase residences for themselves."²⁰

After Schermerhorn arrived in the Cherokee country to attend a council which was convened for the purpose of hearing the propositions of the government, he thus expounded the treaty to those who did not wish to go west: "They shall have paid to them here all that is due them for their claims, improvements, and per capita allowance, removal, and subsistence; but they must purchase their own lands like other citizens, and settle where they please, subjects of the laws of the country where they live."²¹

The Cherokees insisted upon reservations being granted in favor of such of their people as might desire to remain east, and finally refused to assent to the treaty unless a provision was added which secured to them their homes. This resulted in a clause being added to the twelfth article, "which granted pre-emption rights to each head of a family who remained east for 160 acres of land, to be located in the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama, which was the only change made in the original propositions in reference to the class expected to remain east, as appears by the commissioner's journal of the negotiation that accompanied the treaty."²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

Previous to the conclusion of the treaty of 1835 the Cherokee government had ceased to exist, in consequence of the tribe having passed under the dominion of the authorities of Georgia. The portion of the tribe which resided within the limits of the state of North Carolina and who lived on the lands granted to them by that State in the year 1838, were separated from the portion of the tribe that concluded the treaty, were not parties to it, nor were they represented at the council which negotiated the New Echota agreement. When the treaty was forwarded to Washington, the President deemed it proper to employ an agent to examine its provisions. The agent selected was an adopted Cherokee. He did not arrive in Washington until after the treaty had been submitted to the Senate. After examining the provisions of the treaty, the agent was of the opinion that the word claims in the twelfth article was ambiguous. In order to prevent the liability of a construction being placed upon it which would deprive those whom he represented of their portion of the money arising from the sale of the common property, he deemed a supplemental article necessary to define the claims for property, and a second article to define similar claims for spoilations, removal, and subsistence.²³ The friends of the treaty, including the commissioner and the chiefs who negotiated it, insisted that it was explained by the term, "all the personal benefits," which preceded it, and there could be no danger of any construction being given to the treaty which would deprive the Cherokees who remained east of their removal and subsistence allowance. To prevent the possibility of such a construction, however, which was so foreign to the intention of the parties, an agreement was signed by the chiefs who negotiated the treaty which it was believed would prevent further misconception; therefore no supplement was needed. After the agreement was drawn up, it was subjected to the examination of the senators from the state of North Carolina—W. P. Mangum and Bedford Brown—who gave it as their opinion that such would answer the purpose desired. The signed statement was accepted in lieu of a supplement to the treaty²⁴ The agreement²⁵ read as follows:

The delegation, whose names are hereunto subscribed, for the Cherokees who have emigrated to, and are expected to emigrate to their new homes west of the Mississippi, and William H. Thomas, (an adopted

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

Cherokee), for the Cherokees belonging to, or which shall belong to the following towns and settlements: Qualla, Alarka, Aquona, Stekosh, and Che-o-ih, with respective settlements expected to *remain east*.

It is admitted that the Cherokees above mentioned are entitled to an equal share proportioned to their numbers in all the lands belonging to the Cherokee nation of Indians. And, notwithstanding they have been deprived of their annuities since the year of 1820, are nevertheless entitled to all sums in possession of the President of the United States for the use of, and annuities due from the United States to the Cherokee nation of Indians; their proportionate share of which benefits was intended to be secured to them by the 12th article of the New Echota treaty, [the twelfth article was quoted in the agreement here.]

It is further agreed to, that if any construction be given to any of the articles of the *New Echota treaty*, whereby the Cherokees belonging to, or which shall belong to said towns and settlements, shall be deprived of any equal share proportioned to their numbers in all the sum arising from a sale or transfer of the common property, mentioned in the first article of this agreement, payable to the Cherokee nation of Indians or people, we will request the President and Senate of the United States, and they are hereby requested, to allow them such supplemental articles thereto as shall remove such improper constructions, and enable them to receive their equal proportioned share, as above mentioned.

It is further understood that one claim, to which said Cherokees desiring to remain are entitled by the 12th article of the New Echota treaty, amounting to fifty-three dollars and thirty-three cents each, intended to place them on terms of equality with those that chose to emigrate in two years from the ratification of the above treaty, who are allowed that sum for removal and the subsistence out of the money arising from the sale of the common property, shall be placed by them on interest in the State Bank of North Carolina, or some other safe institution, to furnish those desiring to emigrate to their new homes in the west with removal and subsistence. . . . Should a division of the lands west of the Mississippi, belonging to the Cherokee nation as a common property, take place, the above-mentioned Cherokees shall be entitled to have their share laid off for them.

On October 13, 1837, the Senate passed a resolution calling on the Secretary of War for copies of papers relating to the Cherokee treaty of 1835. On January 12, 1838, a report was made by the Indian office in compliance with said resolution. What purported to be a copy of this agreement left out one entire article without any mark or reference to the omission. The article not included happened to be an explanation by the chiefs who signed the treaty of the twelfth article which related to the claims of the North Carolina

Indians.²⁶ By leaving out that article it was made to appear in the copies printed for Congress that the North Carolina Indians did not even claim any commutation for removal and subsistence. There is no proof that the article was intentionally left out to defeat these claims, and it is quite possible that it was the result of an accident; but the effect on the claims of the Indians was fully as injurious as if it had been intentional.

The terms of the New Echota treaty clearly provided for the Indians who wished to reside in the states. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, stated at the time the treaty was concluded that the North Carolina Cherokees were entitled without removal to all the pecuniary benefits of the treaty.²⁷ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs also stated that the Indians who remained east were entitled to all the benefits of the agreement.²⁸

The North Carolina Indians, however, were soon to be excluded from all the pecuniary benefits. There were many people in North Carolina who were upset as a result of such an interpretation. Two members of the North Carolina legislature, S. H. Porter and B. Brown, came to the defense of the Cherokees.²⁹

The allowance claimed by the Indians in the state of North Carolina formed part of their personal benefits; consequently, they were embraced in the decision as forming a portion of their interests in the stipulations of the treaty. Secretary Cass did not base his decision in favor of the allowance upon any expectation that the North Carolina Indians would remove west with the tribe, because in the agreement it was stated that if they would become subject to the laws of the State, they had the right to remain and become citizens, which they apparently intended to do, and to purchase lands for a permanent residence. This construction of the treaty is further fortified by the subsequent practice that was established by the War Department, which was sanctioned by the accounting officers of the treasury and by two boards of commissioners, acting under appointments from the President, whose decisions (by the terms of the treaty) were to be final³⁰ Under their decisions, the Cherokees now remaining in the state of Georgia were to be paid the same allowance as that now claimed for those remaining in the states of

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina.³² In opposition to this construction of the treaty, it was admitted that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had proposed a change of construction, so as to make the allowance dependent upon removal West. It is also true that the same commissioner refused payment on certificates issued by one board of commissioners—General John H. Eaton, ex-secretary of War and Edward B. Hubley—on claims of this description, in favor of J. K. Rogers.³³ An appeal was made to Congress for the passage of a resolution directing the payment of that and other suspended certificates.³⁴ The resolution was passed, notwithstanding the great efforts of the Indian office to prevent it.³⁵ President Tyler, however, vetoed the resolution.³⁶ At the next session the resolution was returned with the reasons of the executive for refusing his assent. The resolution was again renewed, and with its renewal again commenced the efforts of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to defeat its passage. Congress passed the resolution by almost a unanimous vote of the Senate, and about two-thirds of the members of the House voted for it.³⁷

In order to prevent the Indian office from scoring another victory over Congress, the resolution was amended so as to repeal that part of the act of 1834, which required all claims arising under Indian treaties to be first presented at the Indian office for approval before actual payment at the treasury; and instead the Secretary of the Treasury was required to pay the certificate on presentation.³⁸ Thus ended a contest between the Indian Office and Congress.³⁹

In a memorial to the 28th Congress dated April 17, 1844, the Indians presented their claims in vigorous language. The memorial reads:⁴⁰

This claim for removal, we contend, was in each case an *individual claim*; . . . because *each individual* who chose to remain a citizen of the State actually became a *creditor* to the government for *each member* of his *family* remaining with him. . . . It is easily ascertained what *number* of *Cherokees* there were *entitled to transportation in kind*, or *commutation for removal*. The number of persons of the Cherokee nation, accord-

³² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The cost of this contest has been calculated to be no less than \$200,000, *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *House Documents*, 1st. sess. 28th Cong. Doc. No. 234, p. 6, The amount however, should be \$558,044.19.

ing to the census of 1835, including *Whites* and *Blacks*, and *North Carolina Indians*, was *sixteen thousand seven hundred and forty-three*. Thus, at \$20 per head, the United States would be entitled to a credit for \$334,864 for *removal*.

The same *arguments* which apply to the *data for removal*, apply precisely with the same force to the *data for subsistence*. The only difference is, that such as commuted for their own subsistence (as very many did) were entitled to *thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents for each person* so subsisted. Upon this basis, therefore, the United States was entitled to a *credit for subsistence* for \$558,044.17

Thus, not including payment for improvements which were due the Indians, there was a compensation of \$892,904.19 to which the Cherokees were entitled. The Indians who wished to remain in North Carolina were entitled to \$35,677.72.

Since the Indians believed that they were entitled to the above sum plus pay for improvements, since the Secretary of War and Commissioner Harris and the man who negotiated the New Echota treaty believed that the Indians were entitled to the said sum, the Indians contended that the government was the trustee and that the trustee had no right to construe the treaty "contrary to the known understanding of the Indians, by any rules of interpretation either as existing among civilized or uncivilized nations."⁴¹

Perhaps it would be of interest to quote from William H. Thomas, agent for the Cherokees in North Carolina on the conditions of the Indians who moved West and those who remained East:⁴²

The documents furnished Congress this session, which emanated from the office of Indian Affairs, furnish sufficient proof of the condition of the Cherokee Indians residing west of the Mississippi river. An army of whiskey shops are situated on the line which divides the lands of the Indians from those of the Whites, that are amenable neither to the laws of the Whites nor the Indians. Already they have commenced their work of *death and war of extermination on the Indians*. Under the influence of intoxicating liquors, aided by old feuds and animosities, the most horrid crimes are committed. The highway robber and the midnight assassin, in the confusion and anarchy that reign, are permitted, with impunity, to rob, murder, and plunder the best citizens in the nation. Before men's wives and children they are shot down in cold blood; and even their children are not exempt from the merciless hand of the bandit. About eight hundred of the inoffensive and peaceable inhabitants have been driven from their homes, with their wives and their children, to seek

⁴¹ *Senate Documents*, 1st. sess. 29th Cong., Doc. No. 408, p. 11.
⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

protection among the Whites in the state of Arkansas, and are now subsisted there at the expense of the government of the United States.

In describing the conditions of the Indians in North Carolina, Thomas gives a glowing account of their prosperity and describes the beautiful mountain scenery in the western part of the State:

Having shown what the condition of the Cherokees west is, in the land of promise, allow me to state the condition of their brethren remaining east, as proven by the most reliable evidence hereunto annexed. Qualla town being the principal settlement of Cherokees remaining in North Carolina, I shall confine my remarks to the present condition of the inhabitants of that town. After the conclusion of the treaty of 1835 with their brethren who reside in the State of Georgia, and after they had Governor Cass's decision "that they were entitled to an interest in proportion to their numbers in all the stipulations of the treaty," and had applied for and obtained the passage of a law by the legislature of the State of North Carolina, granting protection to them and such other Cherokees as might remain in the State, subject to her laws (May, 1838) after the time allowed the Cherokees in Georgia to emigrate, their chief purchased for them fifty-five thousand acres of land adjacent to the great Iron or Smoky Mountain.

One of its summits, known by the name of Black Mountain is now, agreeably to Professor Mitchell's report, the highest mountain in the United States.⁴³ This mountain, to which these Indians have an uninterrupted outlet, and the right of hunting reserved to them by the treaty of 1791, extends from east to west about one hundred and fifty miles, where it disappears in the Valley of the Mississippi. For the most part this mountain is covered with a dense forest of walnut, mulberry, hickory, poplar, dogwood, elm, ash, chestnut, sugar maple, white pine, spruce pine, fir, and cedar trees, with an under-growth of laurel, ivy, and the sweet shrub, so interwoven amid ravines, cliffs, and precipices, that it is almost inaccessible to any persons except Indians, and a few Whites who have become acquainted with the passes in the Mountain by hunting and attending to stock. Upon a portion of the summits of the mountain no timber grows, making it to resemble the rich pasturage of a small portion of the prairies of the West, where, instead of timber, grows, both summer and winter, grass and all the varieties of wild flowers.⁴⁴ Their cattle subsist all the year without any other expense to their owners, except furnishing them with salt. On the South side of this mountain, which in width extends about thirty miles, rises the Oconalufta, which, with Tuckasega river, forms one of the prongs of Tennessee. On that, and their tributary streams, the Qualla town

⁴³ Mt. Mitchell is the highest mountain east of the Rocky Mountains. It is 6,711 feet above the sea level.

"When the present writer was visiting this Mountain just a little more than a year ago, the most beautiful flowers were blooming there. It is too bad, however, that the lumberjacks have denuded it of its timber."

Indians live. On these streams all the lands they have purchased are situated; and notwithstanding, after leaving the Valley through which these streams flow, the lands are broken and mountainous, they are rich, and seem to be well adapted to all the purposes of grazing. Blue and herdsgrass have been tried, and are found to grow well. The climate is one of the most salubrious in the United States. The Country is well supplied with springs of crystal water that issue from the side and base of the mountain. In the mountain streams, trout, and other fish, found in the Western waters, are in abundance, and wild fowl and game sufficient to furnish the sportsman with amusement. Here, in the land occupied by those Indians and their ancestors from time immemorial, where the sacred relics and the graves of their ancestors are distinguished by the monuments of rude piles of stone, those Cherokees yet delight to dwell. Regarding themselves as permanently settled, under the protection of the laws of North Carolina, provision having been made for the removal of such individuals as might become dissatisfied with the country east, and desired again to pursue the hunter life in the west, they did not expect or desire any more to be annoyed with enrolling agents; and, in anticipation of remaining permanently as a community on the lands they had purchased, and only occupy the lands which might be assigned them west as they choose to go, they have felled the timber, cleared fields, built good fences, have planted orchards, and made in most instances, comfortable hewed log-houses to live in. Their females are no longer treated as slaves, but as equals. Their employment, like that of the wives of most of the pioneers, is principally confined to domestic pursuits. While the men are ploughing in the field, they are spinning, weaving, etc., manufacturing clothing and preparing food for their families. They have domestic animals such as are usually found among the Whites—horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, etc. They cultivate Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, beans, peas, Irish and sweet potatoes, cabbage, turnips, etc; and they not only raise a plenty for themselves, but make a surplus which they sell to the Whites engaged in working gold mines adjacent to the Indian settlement.⁴⁵ They have acquired a knowledge of most of the mechanic arts known by their White neighbors, and not only do their own blacksmithing, stocking of guns, and coopering but do much work of that description for the Whites. They have become the most temperate people in the state, under the influence of a temperate society. They have learned to read the New Testament in their own language, which was translated by the unfortunate Boudinot, who was murdered in the Cherokee country west by the hands

⁴⁵ To substantiate this statement it is only necessary to quote from a letter written on August 22, 1843 and signed by 80 respectable citizens who lived as neighbors to the Cherokees:

"The undersigned, citizens of counties of Haywood and Macon, and State of North Carolina, hereby certify that we have lived neighbors to the Qualla Town Cherokee Indians since 1838; we consider them fast improving in the knowledge of the arts and agriculture. As an evidence of the latter, they have not only raised a support for themselves, but during the past summer sold a considerable quantity to the Whites, without which many of the White citizens would have been compelled to procure corn from a considerable distance. As a community they are temperate and industrious, and make useful citizens. They aid the Whites in working public roads that lead through their town. A large number of them have embraced the true principles of the Christian religion and are regarded orderly members of the Baptist and Methodist societies." See *Senate Documents*, 1st sess. 29th Cong. Doc. No. 408, Vol. VIII, p. 21.

of assassins. They have their own preachers, who labor with their hands during the week, and preach and teach the children how to read and write on the Sabbath, and near one-fourth of the entire population understand these branches of education. Few settlements of the Whites, in any of the States, can claim that a greater proportion of their population can read and write. In ten years, it appears by the certificate of the clerk, the grand jury of the county in which Qualla town is situated have not found a single indictment against any of the Indians.⁴⁶ They have during that time performed public duty; worked on, and kept up the public roads which lead through their settlement. By the constitution and laws of the State they have the right to vote, but exercise it but seldom, lest they should be regarded as identified with one of the political parties, and thereby give offence to the other. Would not any reasonable man prefer residing in this Indian's paradise east, to the country west? The improvement is in part owing to the effect of the temperance society, which removes the principal cause of so many tribes becoming extinct, and being adjacent to the Whites, who heretofore have been their superiors in the arts. The portion in the west, surrounded as they are by tribes less advanced in civilization, must, as a consequence, retrograde to a level with them, even if peace be restored.⁴⁷

Therefore Thomas concluded that the government was doing the Indian a great injustice by compelling him to go west.

It was learned that there were in the Cherokee nation east about 200 very old and infirm Indians, among whom were some lame and blind who believed themselves unable to remove west with the tribe and wished to be permitted to remain east, purchase land, settle, and reside in one neighborhood during their lives. Some of them wished that one or two of their young relatives could be suffered to remain with them.⁴⁸ The propriety of granting these aged persons their request was then suggested to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who then referred the matter to the Secretary of War. The latter replied that there was no law which forbade the department to comply with the request.⁴⁹ The old Indians were accordingly allowed to remain east provided that they would submit to the state laws and purchase their own land.⁵⁰

The Indians in North Carolina who refused to go West made rapid progress. According to the census of 1840, the aggregate number

⁴⁶ William Johnston, clerk of the county court wrote on the 12th of October the following: "I, William Johnston, clerk of the superior court of law in and for the County of Haywood aforesaid, do certify, that on examination of the records it does not appear that any Indian residing in this State has been indicted in this Court for the last ten years, during which time I have been the acting clerk of said court; and that the *Qualla Town*, where a majority of the Cherokee Indians in this State are said to reside. . ." *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

in the State was 669. In the fall of 1844, after a period of four years, the War Department received some very interesting information in regard to the Qualla Town Indians in North Carolina. In the period of four years the total number of deaths including those among the old and infirm who were permitted to remain east in consequence of their being unable to remove west, amounted to 53. The number of births in the same period was 166; which shows an increase of 113; making, as the aggregate number of the town, in the fall of 1844, 732, besides the remnant of the Catawba tribe now residing with them, not included in the estimate, which would increase the number to upwards of 800.⁵¹

The above information was desired by the Secretary of War, Hon. William Wilkins, to enable him to adopt measures to improve the conditions of the North American Indians and thus prevent them from becoming extinct. The following facts show the state of improvement of the Indians in North Carolina in 1844:

Total number of blind, including one caused by old age	2
Total number of deaf and dumb	3
Total number of idiots and insane persons	0
Total number of persons engaged in agriculture	259
Total number of blacksmiths; gun and silver smiths	13
Total number of coopers who make pails, barrels, etc.	35
Total number of men who perform public duty by working upon public roads which lead through their towns	172
Total number of persons who make looms and spinning wheels.....	17
Total number of females who have learned to card, spin, weave, and make their clothing	206
Total number of males and females belonging to the temperance society	310
Total number of Sabbath school teachers and scholars, all Cherokees	103
Total number of males and females who have learned to read and write without the aid of any schools, except those kept by the chiefs upon the Sabbath ⁵²	159
Total number of capital offences committed from 1840 to 1844	0
Total number of assaults and batteries	0
Total number of habitual and confirmed drunkards	0
Game killed by them in the year 1844, 540 deer, 78 bears, 18 wolves, 2 panthers. ⁵³	

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22. According to the report of the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1926, there were 11,969 Indians living in North Carolina in 1925. Their report also stated that Congress appropriated in 1925 \$118,019.84 for N. C. Indians. See E. B. Merritt, *The American Indian and Government Indian Administration*, pp. 6, 14.

⁵² Nearly one fourth of the entire population could read and write in 1844.

⁵³ *Senate Documents*, 1st sess. 29th Cong., Doc. No. 408 Vol. VIII, p. 23.

Apparently the people of North Carolina were determined that justice should be done to the Indians. People from the western part of the State petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Secretary of War in their behalf.⁵⁴ Even the North Carolina Legislature passed the following resolution:⁵⁵

Resolved, that our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States are hereby requested to use their influence in favor of obtaining a speedy settlement of the just claims of the Cherokee Indians residing in this State, belonging to the towns of Qualla and Buffalo, and of all other Indians who may demean themselves as peaceable and orderly citizens.

The governor of North Carolina was then requested to send the said resolution to the North Carolina Senators at Washington.⁵⁶

It was only through the persistent efforts of the North Carolina Indians and the Legislature of the State that Congress was finally induced to pass the act of July 29, 1848, which directed that the names of the Indians remaining in North Carolina be ascertained and the sum of \$53.53 be placed in the United States Treasury to the credit of each so enrolled,—“interest to be paid theron at six per cent from May 23, 1836, and thereafter.”⁵⁷

The management of the affairs of these Indians and disbursements to them were made through William H. Thomas. The interest that had accrued from the funds provided by the act of July 29, 1848, was turned over to him for the benefit of the Indians. A large portion of the sum was used by the individual Indians towards purchasing their present holdings known as the Qualla Boundary, and some scattered tracts in North Carolina. Approximately 1,553 Indians secured financial aid in this manner.⁵⁸ The list was compiled by the Treasury Department, May 5, 1852, and was transmitted to Congress by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on May 19, 1852.

After being denied their rights for nearly fifteen years the North Carolina Indians were finally paid the money to which they were justly entitled with interest. But they were never paid for the per capita improvements which they had made on the lands which they

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24. Passed on January 9, 1845.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁷ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 264.

⁵⁸ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 64, pp. 5-28. The Cherokees must have multiplied very rapidly or several hundred left the west and came back east.

held prior to the treaty of 1835 and which the government promised to pay.

THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE

By JOHN D. HICKS

and JOHN D. BARNHART

A satisfactory history of the organizations which furnished the chief vehicles for the expression of farmer grievances during the eighties has long been needed. These organizations were not unimportant, for they took up and carried on the work left undone by the Grange¹ and they ultimately gave birth to the People's Party. There are several reasons why their history has been overlooked. The precise origins and the early activities of the various Alliance orders are somewhat difficult to trace. Similar organizations sprang into existence at about the same time in various sections of the country; traditions of antiquity grew up, mainly to gratify local pride; and numerous confusing consolidations were effected. Contemporary accounts² of this development are defective, for they were written for propaganda purposes during the expansion of the movement and are therefore incomplete and unreliable. More recent writers³ have treated the subject very briefly or have been

¹ Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement, A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political, Economic and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880*, Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XIX, (Cambridge, 1913). The excellency of this work on the Grange, or the Patrons of Husbandry, makes more evident the lack of a similar study on the Farmers' Alliance and Populism.

² The following list includes the more important of the contemporary accounts: Emory Adams Allen, *Labor and Capital, containing an account of the various organizations of farmers, planters, and mechanics for mutual improvement and protection against monopoly* (Cincinnati, 1891); N. B. Ashby, *The Riddle of the Sphinx* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1890); F. G. Blood, *Handbook and History of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union* (Washington, 1893); J. E. Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance: Its Origin, Progress and Purposes* (Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1891); Frank Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1891, pp. 282-310; Nelson A. Dunning, *The Farmers' Alliance History and Agricultural Digest* (Washington, 1891); William L. Garvin, *History of the Grand State Farmers' Alliance of Texas* (Jonesboro, Texas, 1885); William L. Garvin and S. O. Daws, *History of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America* (Jacksboro, Texas, 1887); *Handbook of Facts and Alliance Information* (Washington, 1891); Frank L. McVey, "The Populist Movement," *Economic Studies of the American Economic Association*, Vol. I, 1896, pp. 135-209; W. Scott Morgan, *History of the Wheel and Alliance, and the Impending Revolution* (Fort Scott, Kansas, 1889); W. A. Peffer, "The Defensive Movement of the Farmer," *Forum*, Vol. 8, December, 1889, pp. 464-473, and "The Farmers' Alliance," *Cosmopolitan*, Vol. x, April, 1891, pp. 694-699. The following are more recent in appearance but were written by those who were connected with the movement: Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," in *Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, edited by William E. Connelly, Vol. II (Chicago, 1918), pp. 1115-1195; W. F. Rightmire, "The Alliance Movement in Kansas—Origin of the People's Party," *Kansas State Historical Society Transactions*, Vol. IX, 1905-1906, pp. 1-8; J. M. Thompson, "The Farmers' Alliance in Nebraska: Something of Its Origin, Growth, and Influence," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. X, Second Series, Vol. V (Lincoln, 1902), pp. 199-206; James W. Witham, *Fifty Years on the Firing Line*, (Chicago, 1924).

³ Alex Mathews Arnett, "The Populist Movement in Georgia; a view of the Agrarian Crusade in the Light of the solid South politics" *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Vol. CIV, Number I (New York, 1922); Solon Justus Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade, A chronicle of the Farmer in Politics*—The Chronicles of America Series, Vol. XXXXV, (New Haven, 1920); Edward Wiest, *Agricultural Organization in the United States* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1923); John D. Hicks, "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," *M. V. H. R.*, Vol. IX, 1922-1923, pp. 203-226, "The People's Party in Minnesota," *Minnesota History Bulletin*, Vol. V, 1923-1924, pp. 531-560, "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly," *M. V. H. R.*, Vol. VIII, 1921-1922, pp. 80-132, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. II, 1925, pp. 162-187, "The Birth of the Populist Party," in *Minnesota History*, Vol. IX, 1928-1929, pp. 219-247; "The Sub-Treasury: A forgotten plan for the Relief of Agriculture," *M. V. H. R.*, XV, 1928-1929, pp.

interested in a part rather than in the whole movement. The following account is an attempt to survey the important facts in their national aspects without treating the state or local activities.

Among the various farmers' organizations the National Farmers' Alliance and the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union were the most important. The former was more commonly known as the Northern or the Northwestern Alliance to designate the territory in which it was strongest, the upper Mississippi Valley. The latter was usually called the Southern Alliance as it was predominant in the South.

Ordinarily the date of the founding of the Northwestern Alliance is fixed at March 21, 1877, and the credit is given to a group of New Yorkers, mainly Grangers, who thought it expedient to create a "political mouthpiece" through which the Patrons of Husbandry could speak. The redress of grievances against the railroads, the reform of taxation, and the legalization of Granger insurance companies were among the specific ends sought.⁴ A somewhat shadowy claim was made, however, that the New York Alliance was preceded by a similar society, the Settlers' Protective Association, which a number of Kansas squatters had organized about 1874 to defend their land titles against railroad claimants. After accomplishing this end, the society turned to co-operative enterprises and appointed an eastern purchasing agent, through whom the plan of organization became known in New York. According to this tradition, the New York Alliance was copied directly from the Kansas model.⁵

However this may be, it seems perfectly clear that the first really effective Alliance organization was made by Milton George, who, from 1876 on, had been the editor of a Chicago farm journal called the *Western Rural*. Prior to becoming a newspaper man, George had been a farmer, and was well acquainted with the difficulties under which the rural classes labored. Railway malpractices goaded him especially, and his paper teemed with editorials denouncing the roads, demanding their regulation by the government, and criti-

355-373; Simeon Alexander Delap, "The Populist Party in North Carolina," *Trinity College Historical Society, Historical Papers*, Series XIV (Durham, 1922) pp. 40-74; Herman Clarence Nixon, "The Populist Movement in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XXIV, 1926, pp. 3-107; Melvin J. White, "Populism in Louisiana during the Nineties," *M. V. H. R.*, Vol. V, 1918-1919, pp. 3-19. An account of the Northwestern Farmers' Alliance has been written in an unpublished dissertation, John D. Barnhart, *The History of the Farmers' Alliance and of the People's Party in Nebraska*.

⁴ W. J. Fowler, "The Farmers' Alliance: letter from President Fowler," *Western Rural* (Chicago, Illinois), November 20, December 4, 1880. See also issue of October 23, 1880.

⁵ Blood, *Handbook*, p. 35; Barr, "The Populist Uprising," *loc. cit.*, p. 1140.

cizing the free pass evil by which railway legislation was checked and the makers of public opinion bribed. Declaring that "The railroads are literally starving some of our farmers to death," he urged the formation of cheap transporation clubs and farmers' alliances to aid the farmer in the defense of his rights. The Alliance idea he seems clearly to have borrowed from the New York experiment.⁶

George's first move was to organize, April 15, 1880, a Farmers' Alliance for Cook County, Illinois. Through this body as a central agency he proposed to establish other alliances of "practical farmers," and ultimately a national order. Popularized in the columns of the *Western Rural*, the idea caught hold readily, and requests for charters began to come in. The first charter was granted to a group of farmers near Filley, Nebraska, and others were soon scattered liberally throughout the states of the Middle West. To organize the movement on a national basis a "Farmers' Transportation Convention" was called to meet at Chicago, October 14, 1880, and on the appointed date several hundred delegates from Alliance chapters, Farmers' Clubs and Granges put in their appearance. Long resolutions were adopted condemning the railway system of the country as 'a virtual monopoly . . . defiant of all existing law . . . oppressive alike to the producer and consumer, corrupting to our politics, a hindrance to free and impartial legislation, and a menace to the very safety of our republican institutions.' To correct these evils Congress was called upon to inaugurate a program of governmental control, and the political parties were warned to nominate for office men in sympathy with the farmers' program. A constitution was adopted which provided for local, state, and national alliances, the last-mentioned to be a delegate body of no great authority, but serving merely to link together the various state and local units, which were left free each to work out its own problems in its own way. Dues and salaries apparently were not contemplated, and the early expenses of the national body, including the cost of holding the initial convention, seem to have been paid for by Milton George himself, whose generous financial assistance was extended also to some of the state alliances.⁷

⁶ Witham, *Fifty Years on the Firing Line*, pp. 25-26, 61; *Western Rural*, January 24, March 6, 1880, March 12, 1881.

⁷ *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago Illinois), October 15, 1880; *Western Rural*, October 23, 1880; Witham, *Fifty Years*, pp. 26-28, 51; Peffer, "Defensive Movement of the Farmer," *loc. cit.*, p. 472.

The organization which came into existence in this manner was probably due more to the hard times on the farms of the upper Mississippi Valley than to the efforts of this farmer-editor. The late seventies were years of large crops and low prices in which the price per bushel, the total value of the crop, and the return per cultivated acre declined, according to the estimates of the Commissioner of Agriculture.⁸ It appears that this period of declining prices gave stimulus to agricultural discontent and was an important reason for the rise of the Alliance. By the time the organization was founded, however, foreign demand brought higher prices for the large crops of 1879 and 1880.⁹ But drouth in much of the upper Mississippi Valley in 1881, which reduced the yield of wheat twenty-two per cent and of corn thirty-two per cent, seems to have influenced the growth of the organization.¹⁰ The drouth affected Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and to a lesser extent Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The Alliance was most popular at the beginning in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota and somewhat less so in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Missouri.

Aided by this unfortunate agricultural situation, Milton George succeeded well with the movement he had begun, in spite of the opposition of rival agricultural journals, whose editors seemed to think that the Alliance was but a shrewd scheme to increase the circulation of his paper, the *Western Rural*. Within a month some two or three hundred locals had been chartered, and within a year, optimists claimed, not less than a thousand.¹¹ State organizations were harder to start than the locals, and in the early years of Alliance history the few that came into existence were by no means flourishing. In Nebraska an advance in freight rates helped along the cause, and on January 5 and 6, 1881, delegates from about twenty-five counties met at Lincoln and organized the first state Alliance, adopting a constitution rather more elaborate than that of the national order.¹² Before eighteen months had

⁸ Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Years 1881 and 1882 (Washington, 1882), pp. 580-586. Wholesale Prices, Wages, and Transportation, Report by Mr. Aldrich from the Committee on Finance, March 3, 1893, 52d Congress, 2d Session, Senate Report No. 1394, Parts 1-4, Serial Number 3074, pp. 9-10, 26-27, 29, 34-35, and 61.

⁹ In addition to the references cited in note 8 see also Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year, 1879 (Washington, 1880), p. 128; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year, 1880 (Washington, 1881), p. 194.

¹⁰ Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1881-1882, pp. 577-593.

¹¹ Western Rural, November 13, 1880, October 15, 1881; Witham, Fifty Years, pp. 51, 62.

¹² Official Proceedings of the Nebraska State Farmers' Alliance, at its First Annual Meeting at Lincoln, Nebraska, January 5 and 6, 1881, (date and place of publication not given); Omaha Daily Bee (Omaha, Nebraska), January 7 and 8, 1881.

elapsed similar action had been taken in Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota and Michigan. In New York the state organization had preceded the formation of the national order, and an independent alliance in Texas, from which the Southern Alliance later grew, was for a time regarded as a part of the National Farmers' Alliance. When the second annual convention was held at Chicago, October 5 and 6, 1881, the secretary reported that the Alliance had acquired a total membership of some twenty-four thousand five hundred farmers, with Nebraska, Kansas and Iowa taking the lead in the order named. At the third annual meeting in St. Louis, October 4, 1882, it was claimed that two thousand alliances and a total membership of one hundred thousand farmers were represented.¹³

Once this early enthusiasm had spent itself however, the Alliance entered into a period of decline. For a few years, beginning about 1883, times were not inordinately hard in the Northwest—crops were generally good, and prices were fair—and there was little call for the Alliance type of protest. The fourth annual meeting, held in Chicago during the month of October, 1883, was so poorly attended that the officers chosen were commissioned to hold over until their successors could be elected—a wise provision, for it turned out that there was no annual meeting in 1884. The secretary, Milton George, was given the task of acting in place of the national officers, but even the founder and financier of the movement seems for a time to have lost heart. His journal ceased almost altogether to publish Alliance news. With a few exceptions the state alliances were as lifeless as the national order, and the marvel of it is that the organization did not die out entirely.¹⁴

Poor wheat prices in the fall and winter of 1884-1885 probably had much to do with the revival of interest in the Alliance. Certain it is that in the northwestern wheat-growing area the alliances suddenly developed an unwonted vitality. Letters in the familiar strain began to pour in once more upon the editor of the *Western Rural*, who took courage and began work anew. "The Farmers' Alliance has never shown so much life as it is now showing," he rejoiced. "More alliances are being organized than ever before, especially in the West." Early in 1885 the Dakota Territorial Alliance was organized and the same year the order was introduced into

¹³ *Western Rural*, October 15, 1881, May 27, 1882, November 4, 1882.

¹⁴ *Western Rural*, September 8, October 13, 1883, November 20, 1886.

Colorado.¹⁵ In 1886 a statement of Alliance principles, which was mailed out to all subscribers to the *Western Rural* and to such others as were thought to be interested, elicited considerable response. Farmers who indicated their belief in the principles enunciated were made honorary members, and were encouraged to join together into active locals.¹⁶ Many new Alliances were formed, old ones were resuscitated, and in November, 1886, another national convention, the first since 1883, was successfully brought together. By counting in the activities of the Southern Alliance, which by this time was also getting under way, the secretary gave a most exaggerated idea of the newly attained prosperity, but after making all due allowances it is obvious that the order was growing with considerable rapidity.¹⁷

As the hard times of the later eighties set in, the strength of the Alliance movement correspondingly increased. The national meeting of 1887, held in Minneapolis during the month of October, was able to break new ground. Assured that the period of Alliance infancy was now over, the convention adopted a more adequate constitution, made Milton George a life member, and proposed to become self-sustaining by introducing a system of dues and fees. The state leaders, hitherto little interested in the affairs of the national order, now took over its management, and the resolutions adopted exhibited a more radical tinge. It was suggested that government control of the railways might well be supplemented by the actual ownership of one or more of the transcontinental lines, and the financial problem was represented by a demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the customary ratio. Only seven states out of perhaps twice that number entitled to representation had delegates at the Minneapolis convention, but the interest apparently was great and hope for the future was high. Friendly exchanges were made with the Knights of Labor, who were in session at the same time and place. J. Burrows of Nebraska, and August Post of Iowa, were made president and secretary, respectively.¹⁸

Within the next few years the Farmers' Alliance became a power to be reckoned with in the Northwest. Functioning mainly through its state organizations, it proclaimed the doctrine that the farmer should make his influence immediately felt in politics. It was this

¹⁵ *Western Rural*, December 27, February 9, 1884, January 3, 17, March 7, 1885.

¹⁶ *Western Rural*, May 22, 1886. The declaration was printed in many other issues also.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 20, 1886.

¹⁸ *Western Rural*, October 8, 15, 22, 1887.

emphasis upon political activity that distinguished the Northwest-
ern Alliance from the other farmers' organizations. It adapted it-
self to different circumstances in the various states but it never
placed anything else before politics. Ignatius Donnelly of Minneso-
ta expressed the idea correctly when he said, "Remember that the
Alliance is not a political organization, in the sense of organizing
a party, or setting up a state ticket" but that "it cannot stop corrup-
tion . . . without sending the right kind of men to the State Legis-
lature."¹⁹ Obviously "the right kind of men" were farmers or men
who sympathized with the point of view of the farmers. It mattered
little to which party they belonged, if they could be trusted to sup-
port the Alliance program. Sometimes conditions were interpreted
as requiring the formation of independent parties. Grievances
against the railroads caused much of this action and attracted the
chief attention of the state alliances as well as of the National Al-
liance. They agreed with it, "That the consolidation and combina-
tion of railroad capital and its influence in the United States in main-
taining an oppressive and tyrannical transportation system," de-
manded "instant, vigorous and increasing action on the part of the
producers," and that it would be wise "to subordinate other politi-
cal questions to the emancipation of the people from this terrible
oppression." But other matters such, for example, as discrimina-
tions by the elevator companies, unfair practices in the grading of
grain, the mortgage evil, unequal taxation, and the need of ballot re-
form all came in for consideration.²⁰ In accord with its belief in
political activity and in support of a program which involved the
above points, the Alliance went into politics. In Iowa during the
eighties it pursued a strictly non-partisan policy in a successful
struggle to subject the railroads to state regulation.²¹ Its non-parti-
san role was less exact in Minnesota and in 1890 a third party was
formed.²² In Nebraska an Anti-Monopoly Party was organized
in 1882 after a non-partisan course had seemed to be unsatisfactory,
and this in turn was followed by fusion with the Democrats.²³ By

¹⁹ *Mankato Review* (Mankato, Minnesota), June 17, 1884; *The Great West* (St. Paul, Minnesota), October 18, 1889.

²⁰ Witham, *Fifty Years*, p. 51; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 62-65; *The Great West*, October 18, 1889; *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minnesota), February 5, 1887; *The Alliance* (Lincoln, Nebraska), November 30, 1889.

²¹ Nixon, "Populist Movement in Iowa," *loc. cit.*, pp. 32-39; *Western Rural*, June 4, 1887; *Farmers' Alliance*, (Lincoln, Nebraska), February 4, 1892.

²² Hicks, "Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," *loc. cit.*, pp. 203-226. "People's Party in Minnesota," *loc. cit.*, pp. 531-560, "Ignatius Donnelly," *loc. cit.* pp. 80-132.

²³ *Omaha Daily Bee*, June 22—November 10, 1882, August 30, September 28, October 5, November 8-12, 1883, September 11, 12, 1884, *et passim*.

1891 third parties had been formed in most of the states in which it existed, the more successful of which were those in Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Minnesota.²⁴ Wherever the Northwestern Alliance had become strong, there the farmers went into politics.

By their "systematic and persistent political action" the Alliances won not only offices for their friends but also, perhaps quite as important, a hearing for their cause. If they failed to win legislative victories, which frequently happened, they at least interested other farmers in what they were attempting to do. The years 1888 to 1890 witnessed an enormous increase in Alliance membership. "The people are aroused at last," wrote the jubilant editor of the *Western Rural*. "Never in our history has there been such a union of action among farmers as now."²⁵ By 1890 the secretary's office reported new members coming in at the rate of a thousand a week, and with pardonable exaggeration predicted a total of two million members in the immediate future. Kansas alone claimed a hundred and thirty thousand, and the other frontier states where times were hard, especially Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Minnesota, did not lag far behind. In November, 1890, the official Farmers' Alliance paper of Nebraska announced that the order had ten fully organized state alliances, five others in process of organization, and numerous locals in other states. But the strength of the movement was not to be reckoned in the constantly shifting number of states in which the Alliance was fully organized or to which its locals had spread. Its strength lay rather in the complete and thoroughgoing awakening of the rural classes within the few states that lay along the western border of the Middle West.²⁶

The Southern Alliance, meanwhile, had been through a somewhat similar course of development. Out in Lampasas County, Texas, a group of frontier farmers had organized an Alliance as early as 1874 or 1875, the main purpose of which was to promote co-operation in such matters as catching horse thieves, rounding up estrays, and purchasing supplies. The Alliance was also calculated to furnish an effective opposition to the activities of land sharks and cattle kings, whose intolerance of the rights of the small farmer was no-

²⁴ Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War with Special Reference to Iowa, a Study in Social Politics* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1916), pp. 236-260.

²⁵ Witham, *Fifty Years*, pp. 51-52; *Western Rural*, August 20, 1890; Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, pp. 282-283.

²⁶ Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 63; *Western Rural*, May 10, August 20, 1890; *National Economist* (Washington, D. C.), Vol. II, October 19, 1889, p. 72; *Farmers' Alliance*, November 20, 1890; Barr, "The Populist Uprising," *loc. cit.*, p. 1141.

torious. To help along the good work a secret ritual was devised, the lodge was introduced into a number of neighboring counties where comparable problems existed, and in 1878 a Grand State Alliance was established. But when the Greenback agitation was at its height the order got into politics and was virtually killed by the resulting dissensions.²⁷

Seed was saved from this early beginning, however, and in 1879 some of it was planted in Parker County, Texas, by a man named Baggett, who had once been a member of the old Lampasas County society. On changing his residence to Parker County, Baggett had brought with him a copy of the original constitution and a knowledge of the original Alliance methods. He promptly founded a new lodge, which, by maintaining a strictly non-partisan attitude, escaped the pitfalls that had wrecked its predecessor. The progress of the revived order was rapid, and, with a dozen newly-organized locals, another Grand State Alliance was set up. In 1880 the order was incorporated by the state of Texas as a "secret and benevolent association."²⁸ Officially known as the "Farmers' State Alliance," it soon achieved considerable prominence throughout central and northern Texas, and even expanded across the border into Indian Territory. By December, 1885, the claim was made that the Alliance had about fifty thousand members scattered among not less than twelve hundred locals. Next year eighty-four counties and twenty-seven hundred sub-alliances were represented in the state meeting held at Cleburne.²⁹

The unrest among Texas farmers, which was clearly indicated by this sudden banding together, arose from somewhat the same general conditions that operated in the frontier states farther to the north.³⁰ Not only in Texas, however, but all through the South the time was ripe for a movement of protest on the part of the farmers. Ever since the Civil War the price of the southern staple, cotton, had steadily declined, and any further drop seemingly would spell disaster on a large scale. Bound as they were by the perni-

²⁷ Morgan, *History of the Wheel and Alliance*, p. 281; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 3-5; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 112.

²⁸ Garvin, *Farmers' Alliance of Texas*, p. 6; Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1890*, New Series, Vol. XV, Whole Series, Vol. XXX, New York, 1891, pp. 299-300.

²⁹ Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 9; Garvin, *Farmers' Alliance of Texas*, p. 84; *National Economist*, Vol. 2, December 14, 1889, p. 196; *Handbook of Facts and Alliance Information*, p. 113. The notion set forth in Blood, *Handbook*, p. 35, that a man from Kansas, versed in the lore of the Settlers' Protective Association, had something to do with the origin of the Texas Alliance, is not to be taken too seriously.

³⁰ See *ante*, pp. 6-7, 10-11.

cious crop-lien system, through the operation of which each farmer was forced to buy and sell almost exclusively with one country merchant, the southern farmers could see under existing conditions no possible emancipation from their mounting debts.³¹ Conditions must be changed, and farmer co-operation to that end seemed the logical thing. Early in the history of the Texas Alliance experiments were made with co-operative business enterprises, and the temptation to use the combined influence of the farmers to secure remedial legislation was always great.

For a considerable time, however, the Texas Alliance posed primarily as a social organization. Supposedly, its true nature was set forth by resolutions adopted at Cleburne which committed the order to labor for "the education of the agricultural classes, in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit," and "a better state mentally, morally, socially and financially," but declared that "The brightest jewels which it garners are the tears of windows and orphans, and its imperative demands are to visit the homes where lacerated hearts are bleeding to assuage the suffering of a brother or sister; bury the dead; care for the widows and educate the orphans," and so on. A change in Alliance policy was foreshadowed, however, by the adoption, in addition to these harmless, if rhetorical, resolutions, of a long set of demands, definitely designed to throw the weight of the Alliance into the political scales. These demands put the Alliance on record as favoring the higher taxation of lands held for speculative purposes, the prohibition of alien land ownership, the prevention of dealing in futures, so far as agricultural products were concerned, more adequate taxation of the railways, new issues of paper money, an interstate commerce law, and sundry other political novelties. A committee of three was to present this ambitious program to the state legislature and to Congress.³²

The motto of the lodge, "In things essential, Unity; and in all things, Charity," did not avail to prevent serious factional strife as a result of this attempt to draw the Alliance into politics. Texas had a lively political contest in view for the fall of 1886, and some members professed to fear that the Cleburne proposals looked towards complicating matters further by the launching of the Alliance

³¹ M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry: an Essay in American Economic History* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1897), ch. 5-6; Charles H. Otken, *The Ills of the South* (New York, 1894), ch. 2-3.

³² Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 9-11; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 114.

as an independent political party. So acute was the dissatisfaction that, following the convention, a minority met, organized themselves into an opposition Alliance, secured a state charter, and elected officers. The dissolution of the order now seemed imminent, but at this juncture there appeared on the scene one C. W. Macune, a native of Illinois long resident in Texas, and more or less by courtesy, a physician. Dr. Macune, as chairman of the executive committee of the Alliance, secured a meeting of the old officers and the newly chosen leaders of the seceding faction, after which the president and the vice-president of the old Alliance resigned, and the seceders agreed to hold their charter in abeyance, pending the next meeting of the state alliance. Macune, now acting president by virtue of the resignation of his superior officers, promptly called a meeting of the state alliance to be held at Waco in January, 1887, and laid plans to avert the impending split.³³

By the time of the Waco meeting Macune's plans were fairly well matured. To begin with he would dazzle the imaginations of Texas Alliancemen and draw attention from petty squabbles at home by proposing a program of active expansion. For a time he toyed with the idea of joining forces with the Northern Alliance to secure immediate organization on a national scale. This would have been an easy and natural development, for the aims of the two orders were by no means irreconcilable, and in the early eighties the Texas Alliance had been considered a part of the National Farmers' Alliance—for statistical purposes was so considered still. That the return of the prodigal with such accretions as it could obtain in the southern states would have been gladly received, Macune knew well. He even wrote about the matter to Streeter of Illinois and Burrows of Nebraska, past-president and president, respectively, of the northern order; but ultimately he decided that union between the two Alliances was not the part of wisdom. His expressed objections to joining forces with the Northwestern Alliance were three-fold: First, the Northwestern Alliance was a loose, non-secret organization, without at the time any system of fees and dues, and still dependent upon the good graces and charity of its founder, Milton George. Second, colored persons were eligible to membership—a condition of affairs unthinkable in the South. Third, by a ruling that any person raised

³³ Garvin and Daws, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 65, 146-147; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 11; *National Economist*, Vol. II December 14, 1889, p. 196.

on a farm was to be considered a farmer, the way was left open for members to be recruited from the non-agricultural classes. What Macune had in mind was a strongly centralized order composed of farmers only, bound together by ties of secrecy, and unified in purpose and procedure. Nothing of the sort could be obtained, he felt, under the existing constitution of the Northwestern Alliance, nor could such changes in that document as he desired be counted upon with any degree of certainty. In any event Macune decided to proceed at once with a new national order to have its main strength in the South. It would thus be in no sense a rival of the Northwestern Alliance, for it would not enter the same territory. Its purpose should be "to organize the cotton belt of America so that the whole world of cotton raisers might be united for self-protection."³⁴

At the Waco meeting Macune scored a complete success. Not only was the threatened split in the Texas Alliance averted, but union with a similar order in Louisiana, as a first step towards active expansion, was successfully consummated. The beginnings of the Farmers' Union, as the Louisiana order was called, dated back to 1880, when a farmers' club had been founded in Lincoln Parish of that State. About 1885, secret work, patterned upon the Granger ritual, was introduced, a constitution, borrowed in the main from the Texas Alliance, was adopted, and numbers of new lodges were formed. The Louisiana Farmers' Union was by no means so strong as the Texas Alliance, having in 1887, perhaps not more than ten thousand members, but Macune believed that a fusion of forces would greatly hearten both orders, and would pave the way to further expansion. Accordingly, after some correspondence, he dispatched a trusted lieutenant to confer with the Louisiana leaders, and the negotiations thus begun were fraught with such success that delegates from the Farmers' Union appeared at Waco, ready to effect the desired consolidation. The two orders were therefore declared one under the name of the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America, Macune was elected president in his own right, and his program of expansion throughout the cotton belt was made the duty of the hour.³⁵

³⁴ Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 11-13, 60; Garvin and Dawes, *Farmers' Alliance*, 66; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, p. 283; *National Economist*, Vol. II, December, 14, 1889, p. 196.

³⁵ *National Economist*, Vol. I, April 13, 1889, p. 56 and Vol. II, December 14, 1889, p. 196; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 299; Peffer, "Defensive Movement of the Farmer," *loc. cit.*, p. 471; Morgan, *Wheel and Alliance*, p. 293; Garvin and Daws, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 46-47; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 12; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 115, f. n.

In order further to divert attention from the political dissensions that had rent the Texas Alliance, Macune now proclaimed the doctrine that the Alliance was primarily what its new name would indicate, a business organization. Its first purpose must be the protection of the cotton raisers of America. All other occupations were "either organized or were rapidly organizing" in their own defense. Why should the farmer not do likewise? By means of business co-operation something could and should be done to rescue the southern farmer from his present economic distress. When the combined orders came together at Shreveport, Louisiana, for their next meeting, Macune's mind was fully made up. "Let the Alliance be a business organization for business purposes," he said, "and as such necessarily secret, and as secret necessarily non-political." This declaration did not prevent, however, the speedy adoption by the Alliance of demands not unlike those which only a short time before had so nearly destroyed the Alliance in Texas.³⁶

With evangelistic fervor Macune threw himself into the work of spreading the Alliance gospel throughout the South. After the union of the Farmers' Alliance of Texas and the Farmers' Union of Louisiana, articles of incorporation for the new order were filed in the District of Columbia, and a national charter was procured. This helped to fix attention upon the national scope of the work. A board, charged with the task of extending the Alliance into the various southern states, was then appointed, and in the spring of 1887 numerous lecturers and organizers were sent forth. Introducing the Alliance as "a strictly white man's non-political secret business association," they found little to oppose their efforts. "The farmers seem like unto ripe fruit," they reported, "you can garner them by a gentle shake of the bush." Indeed, the way was often made ready for the Alliance organizer by a revival of interest in the formerly well-nigh extinct Grange, or by the appearance, almost spontaneously, of such new societies as the Farmers' Clubs of North Carolina, which were already under way when the Alliance entered that State. Throughout the South the Alliance workers got results far in excess of their fondest expectations. Macune had read the minds of the southern cotton growers aright. With prices steadily declining, their plight was desperate, and they knew it. They were

³⁶ Garvin and Daws, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 65-68, 74, 80; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 17-20; *National Economist*, Vol. I, March 14, 1889, p. 8; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 116.

ready to follow the lead of anyone who could point the way of escape from the ills that beset them, and the Alliance as a co-operative business order seemed to offer a ray of hope. Practically every southern state was fully organized by the end of the year.³⁷

In some of the states of the Southwest, particularly in Arkansas, Alliance organizers found the field almost pre-empted by another farm order, nearly as old as their own, and of similar aims and nature. The Agricultural Wheel, as it was called, traced its origin to a meeting at McBee's schoolhouse, ten miles west of Des Arc, Prairie County, Arkansas. There, in February, 1882, seven farmers banded themselves together to form a sort of neighborhood debating club. The arguments that their meetings produced took a political and economic turn, and were directed mainly against corruption in politics and monopoly in business. Similar clubs in the same county, followed by others farther away, soon came into existence, and the talk turned to the evils of the country store, and the oppressive "anaconda" mortgage system by which the Arkansas merchant was protected. In 1883 state organization was achieved, and the name Wheel was adopted. When, in 1885, another farm order, known as the Brothers of Freedom, was absorbed, the joint membership was placed at forty thousand. By 1886, this had grown to fifty thousand, and by the end of 1887, helped along by the same conditions that had favored the expansion of the Southern Alliance, the Wheel had extended into eight states, and could claim half a million members. Obviously a union of forces between the Wheel and the Alliance was the next proper procedure.³⁸

It was not easy, however, to unite two orders of such considerable pretensions, and much time elapsed before the desired end could be fully attained. Each appointed committees to confer. Finally, in December, 1888, both national gatherings were held at Meridian, Mississippi, and consolidation was officially agreed upon. The details of union were to be worked out by a joint committee, however, and the first meeting of the combined order was to be held at St. Louis in December, 1889. By September, 1889, the work of consolidation was declared complete, and the Wheel and the Al-

³⁷ *National Economist*, Vol. I, March 14, 1889, p. 8, July 27, 1889, p. 297; *Progressive Farmer*, (Raleigh, N. C.), April 14, June 2, September 9, 1887; Garvin and Daws, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 48-50; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 14.

³⁸ Morgan, *Wheel and Alliance*, pp. 60-69; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 22-25; *Handbook of Facts*, p. 114; Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, pp. 116-117.

liance gave way to a new Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America. In sending out new rituals and secret work much care was exercised to restrict membership to farmers and their natural allies, viz., country ministers, country teachers, and the editors of farm journals. Lawyers, merchants, merchant's clerks, and individuals owning an interest in any banking or mercantile establishment, except a farmers' co-operative store, were specifically debarred. The authority of the new order was in general fully recognized, although complete consolidation was not effected in Arkansas until 1891.³⁹

With the chance for friction thus reduced to a minimum, the growth of the Alliance went on apace. Lecturers, local and national, helped along the cause of Alliance education, presenting, ordinarily, three divisions of Alliance work: social or fraternal, business, and political. Foremost among the advantages of social intercourse among the farmers was the chance offered, by exchange of ideas, to learn something that would make farming more profitable; through co-operative buying and selling money was to be made or saved; by the judicious exercise of political influence the inadequate currency and credit system, from which the agricultural classes suffered, might be supplanted with something better. As time went on there was less concern about keeping the Alliance true to Macune's conception of it as a strictly business proposition. And yet, the southern farmer joined the Alliance because he thought it could help him get out of debt and make money. It was for this reason that he regarded it as "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Only thus can one explain the way in which members flocked into the Alliance by the hundreds of thousands, if not, indeed, by the millions. By 1890, the most conservative estimate gave the Southern Alliance well over a million members, and the number was more frequently fixed at three millions. Undoubtedly one of the Alliance leaders claimed too much when he said that "Civilized history furnishes nothing to parallel the general and rapid spread of the Alliance," but there was truly plenty of food for thought in the fact that the various orders of which the Alliance was composed had "sprung into existence in widely separated parts of our country at about the same time, and

³⁹ *National Economist*, Vol. I, March 14, 1889, p. 3; Vol. II, September 28, 1889, p. 24-25; November 2, 1889, p. 99; Vol. IV, February 21, 1891, p. 364; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, p. 284; Blood, *Handbook*, p. 39, 45.

that they have grown until they now number in their ranks nearly half of our entire farming population."⁴⁰

With two separate Alliances at work, one in the South and the other in the Northwest, consolidation into one gigantic national order seemed the next logical development. Indeed, for some time the idea of union had been taking root. In accordance with a previously extended invitation, a delegate from the Southern Alliance, Evan Jones of Texas, attended an executive committee meeting of the Northwestern Alliance at Des Moines in February, 1888, to explain the nature of the southern order, with a view to effecting a consolidation. The Northwestern Executive Committee went on record as favorable to union, and a delegation was selected to attend the Meridian meeting of December, 1888. This delegation, however, failed to put in its appearance, but the proceedings which culminated in the union of the Wheel and the Alliance as the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of American clearly had in mind the possibility of drawing the Northwestern Alliance into the new organization. Southern delegates appeared before the annual meeting of the National Alliance, held in Des Moines, January, 1889, to explain the action taken at Meridian, and to work for union. Little objection was offered to the proposition, and the plan presented was referred to the various state alliances for further consideration. It was agreed that both Alliances should hold their next annual meeting at St. Louis in December, 1889, and the assumption was that at that meeting consolidation could be fully effected.⁴¹

The plan for the St. Louis meeting was broader, however, than any mere attempt to unite the Northwestern and the Southern Alliances. For the ambitious leaders of the latter organization nothing short of a confederation of all farmer orders and an agreement with the forces of labor would suffice.

Centering in Indiana and Illinois there existed a society known as the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, which, it was hoped, would join forces with the Alliances. This organization had sprung from a venture in co-operative marketing attempted by some farmers in Johnson County, Illinois, as early as 1883. These farmers found it to their advantage to pool their grain and ship it without

⁴⁰ *National Economist*, Vol. II, November 16, 1889, p. 134, December 14, 1892, p. 197; Vol. IV, December 6, 1890, p. 185, December 13, 1890, p. 198; L. L. Polk, "The Farmers' Discontent," *North American Review*, Vol. CLIII, July, 1891, p. 11; John T. Morgan, "The Danger of the Farmers' Alliance," *Forum*, Vol. XII, November, 1891, p. 407.

⁴¹ *National Economist*, Vol. I, March 14, 1889, p. 8, Vol. II, October 19, 1889, pp. 72-73; *Western Rural*, October 5, 1889, February 16, 1890.

the assistance of middlemen. Since meetings were necessary to make arrangements for shipments and to effect settlements, evolution in the direction of a secret farm order was not unnatural. The Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association always featured its co-operative business activities, but it became a lodge somewhat after the Oddfellow pattern, and it sometimes made its influence felt in politics. By 1887 it claimed, and it probably had, about a hundred and fifty thousand members—some estimates were much higher. Representatives from this group were present at the St. Louis meeting.⁴²

There was also a strong Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Co-operative Union. The Southern Alliance did not admit colored members, but the wisdom of having them lined up in a parallel organization early appealed to some of the white leaders. A southern white man, R. M. Humphery, who had beeen a Baptist missionary among the negroes, was entitled to the chief credit for organizing and extending the work among the colored people. Attracted by the ritual as well as by the possible economic benefits of the order, members flocked to the colored Alliance in prodigious numbers. The first organized group was formed at Houston, Texas, in December, 1886, and by January, 1891, a million and a quarter members were claimed, with a dozen complete state organizations, and locals wherever negro farmers were sufficiently numerous. In 1888, a national organization was effected, and the second annual meeting was called for St. Louis at the same time designated by the white Alliances. Consolidation with the white orders, however, was not anticipated, but since the colored Alliance was little more than an appendage to the Southern Alliance, close co-operation was inevitable.⁴³

The Knights of Labor had had a long, and of late years a none too successful, career. It was invited to send delegates to the St. Louis convention, and responded by authorizing the attendance of three well-known labor leaders, Powderly, Beaumont, and Wright. Shortly before the St. Louis convention the Knights of Labor had met in General Assembly at Atlanta, Georgia, and had listened to addresses by officers of the Georgia State Alliance which

⁴² *National Economist*, Vol. II, November 16, 1889, pp. 134-135; Blood, *Handbook*, p. 59; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 67-68; H. R. Chamberlain, "The Farmers' Alliance and Other Political Parties," *Chautauquan*, Vol. XIII, May 1891, p. 339; Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, pp. 231-232.

⁴³ *National Economist*, Vol. I, March 14, 1889, p. 5, September 14, 1889, p. 409, Vol. II, December 14, 1889, pp. 200-201; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, pp. 287-288.

voiced "a desire for affiliation, possibly amalgamation, between the organized tillers and the organized toilers of the country." It was largely in response to these overtures that the Knights were represented at St. Louis. The American Federation of Labor, whose co-operation would also have been gladly received, refused to have anything to do with the Alliances, because they were "composed of employing farmers."⁴⁴

The genuine need for farm relief, which was accentuated with each succeeding year, coupled with the hope of attaining "a more perfect union" of the agricultural orders, led to a great convergence of farmers, delegates and non-delegates, upon St. Louis in the early days of December, 1889. The railroads, not much concerned as yet about what the farmers did, offered round trip tickets for one and one-third fares. Representatives from Dakota to Florida, from Texas to New York, reflecting "every shade of political opinion," put in their appearance. There were high tariff men and low tariff men. There were Democrats, Republicans, Greenbackers, Union Laborites and Prohibitionists. There were old soldiers who had worn the blue and old soldiers who had worn the gray. The meeting was widely heralded as the "first . . . in the history of the country when the plain farmers from so many States and Territories have been called together for consultation and united action." But the "plain farmers" were by no means destitute of effective leadership. C. W. Macune, now editor of the *National Economist* of Washington, D. C., official journal of the Southern Alliance, was present as the retiring president of the old Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union, with well laid plans. "His parlor at Hurst's hotel," wrote one reporter, "is the gathering place for all the most influential officers and delegates, and he is undeniably dictating the policy of the convention." Colonel L. L. Polk, editor of the radical *Progressive Farmer* of Raleigh, North Carolina, and possessed of a pedigree,—"one of the Mecklenburg family of Polk's, to which belonged Colonel Thomas and James K. Polk,"—was also present and willing to lead. J. Burrows, editor of *The Alliance* of Lincoln, Nebraska, and until recently head of the Northwestern Alliance was there, ambitious probably to head the combination of farmers, should such a combination be made, and at any rate determined that the

"*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 5, 1889; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, p. 290; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 27.

southern leaders should never have things wholly their own way.⁴⁵

The number of official delegates from the Southern Alliance to attend the St. Louis meeting probably exceeded two hundred; the Northwestern Alliance sent only about seventy-five and these two numbers reflected not unfairly the relative strength of the orders. The southerners held their meeting in the Entertainment Hall of the Exposition Building, while the northerners met at the Planters' House; but it was confidently expected that, following a few preliminaries, the latter would adjourn to sit with the former. Two months before the convention met the old Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union had ceased to exist, being succeeded by the Farmers' and Laborers' Union, with a newly drawn constitution and a newly chosen set of officers. Into this order the Northwestern Alliance, or more properly the National Farmers' Alliance, was now called upon to submerge itself, and superficially, at least, there seemed little occasion to resist the call.⁴⁶

Actual consolidation proved, however, to be no easy matter. Soon after the two conventions met they appointed committees on conference to work out the details of organic union, and trouble at once began. Representatives of the Northwestern Alliance found in the existing constitution of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union at least three insurmountable barriers to consolidation. First, they could not accept the new name, which, possibly to satisfy the Wheel or to offer a bait to the forces of labor, had dropped the word Alliance. The northerners suggested that, instead of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union, the name should be the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Second, they objected to the exclusion of negroes from membership, and third, they felt that secrecy, which had rarely had a part in the work of the Northwestern Alliance, should be left optional with each state.⁴⁷ To satisfy these objections the southerners were willing to go a considerable distance. The new name they accepted without objection, and wrote it into their constitution. They were willing also to strike out the word "white" from their qualifications for membership, leaving to each state the right to prescribe the eligibility of colored persons within its jurisdiction, although stipulating that only white men

⁴⁵ *St. Louis Republic*, December 4-7, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, October 19, 1889, p. 73, November 9, 1889, p. 123; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 31.

⁴⁶ *St. Louis Republic*, December 3, 4, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, December 14, 1889, p. 196, December 21, 1889, p. 210.

⁴⁷ Nebraska had used a secret ritual for a time, Thompson, "The Farmers' Alliance in Nebraska," *loc. cit.*, p. 200.

might be elected as delegates to the national legislative body, the Supreme Council. As a last concession the southern order was said to be willing to let negroes into the Supreme Council, and probably if this had been the only obstacle to union it could easily have been overcome. On the matter of secrecy the South found it harder to give in. The success of the Southern Alliance had always been regarded as due in no small part to the hold which secret work gave the national order over its members. Largely by virtue of this characteristic the Southern Alliance could act with a unity that the Northwestern Alliance had never been able to achieve. It was suggested that secrecy might properly be introduced gradually. Let the states that were not ready to receive secret work at once have a year's time in which to prepare for it.⁴⁸

These concessions failed to satisfy at least a majority of the northern delegates, and they were rejected. As a chief excuse the northern conferees plead that the representatives of two northern states, Iowa and Minnesota, being wholly without instructions on the matter of union, it would be necessary to refer back to those state alliances for final action any proposition that might be agreed upon. This, of course, would have furnished no insurmountable barrier to union, had not other difficulties existed, for the accession of the Iowa and Minnesota Alliances could have been delayed indefinitely. Determined not to bear the entire brunt of failure in the negotiations, the northerners proposed as an alternative to consolidation, temporary confederation. While keeping the two orders intact and separate for the present, they suggested that a third united body of some kind be formed under a constitution to be adopted in joint session. This common organization, it was hoped, might be so perfected in the future as to form the basis for a complete amalgamation of forces. But the southern delegates turned the new plan down "for lack of time," and, out of patience at the rejection of what seemed to them the most liberal terms, they voted "to stand firmly on the propositions made," and to invite the northern delegates "to appear before this body for secret work."⁴⁹

Needless to say, this ended all present prospect of union, although

⁴⁸ *Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, December 21, 1889, pp. 213, 215; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," loc. cit., pp. 284-285.

⁴⁹ *Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, December 14, 1889, p. 195, December 21, 1889, pp. 212, 215, December 28, 1889, p. 229; *Alliance*, December 14, 1889, January 11, 1890. The *National Economist* printed the official proceedings of the southern order in full in Volume II, December 21, 1889, pp. 210-218.

the somewhat petulant invitation of the southern convention was actually accepted by the Kansas and Dakota representatives, who claimed full authority to act on behalf of their constituencies. Their action, subsequently endorsed by local state conventions, resulted in the virtual secession of the Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota Alliance from the northern order, and their absorption into the newly formed Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Some hope was entertained that, as the various state conventions were held elsewhere in the North, the example of the seceders would be generally followed, and thus by steady accretions union would ultimately be obtained. But these hopes were not justified by the events. Efforts to join the two orders continued for some time, but they never accomplished anything.⁵⁰

The reasons for the failure of the Northwestern and the Southern Alliances to combine are not fully revealed by the unsuccessful negotiations looking towards union. Continuing sectional prejudice undoubtedly played a far greater part than was admitted. The southern order, being greatly superior in numbers, could afford to be generous in its overtures, and it was. The northern order, drawing its membership in no small part from the veterans of the Civil War, looked askance at anything which meant submission to southern supremacy. One hostile Kansas editor shrewdly branded the whole Alliance movement as a "rebel yell." With taunts like this in prospect how could the Northwestern Alliance be expected to forego a separate existence? Confederation it might survive, but consolidation might well be its death. Moreover, there was a real question as to the identity of interest between northern and southern farmers. Some northern questions were of comparatively small consequence to the South, and some problems that seemed vital to the South meant far less to the North. Would the two sections ever be able to work together in harmony within one organization? Would not the southern element, greater in size and firmly intrenched in its control of the national offices, shape the policy for the whole? This reflection rather than mere desire for place may have inspired the determination of some of the northern leaders to seek prominent offices in the national order, should consolidation be effected. One further considera-

⁵⁰ *National Economist*, Vol. II, December 21, 1889, pp. 215-217, December 28, 1889, p. 229; January 4, 1890, p. 242; Vol. III, June 28, 1890, p. 232; *Alliance*, January 11, 1890; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement" *loc. cit.*, p. 285; Blood, *Handbook*, p. 1.

tion undoubtedly swayed the decision of many Alliances away from union. Already the idea of a third party had appeared, and in the North it was receiving serious thought. But apparently the South was wedded irretrievably to the one party system. Southerners who could look with complaisance upon the formation of a new party, perhaps there were, but even to these the matter was one of the greatest delicacy, to be mentioned only with bated breath. Here was a problem which, in its relation to amalgamation, southerner as well as northerner must well consider. Would union prove embarrassing to those who wanted to work towards independent political action? Would union prove embarrassing to those who hoped to prevent independent political action? Possibly each question might be answered in different ways by different individuals, but the mere suggestion of a third party caused a certain amount of hesitation on all sides. When finally the third party did materialize, it so supplanted the Alliances in interest and importance that no one cared particularly whether they were united or not.⁵¹

From the standpoint of diminishing the number of farmer and labor orders, the St. Louis meeting was a thoroughgoing failure. The Northwestern and the Southern Alliances each went their respective ways when the meeting was over, just as before. The Colored Alliance was no more and no less completely under the domination of the Southern Alliance than it had always been. The Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association resisted all overtures looking in the direction of organic union, and agreed merely upon mutual co-operation. The Knights of Labor scarcely considered union with the farmers on any terms. "The Knights and the farmers ask for the same things," said Powderly, "only the Knights ask for more, such as the environment of the farmer does not call for. . . . Hence, complete consolidation is not feasable."⁵²

The gathering did register, however, a notable willingness on the part of farmers, North and South, to work together for the attainment of common ends, and to accept whatever assistance they could get from organized labor. They seemed with one accord to agree that the time was ripe for a series of political demands that, if carried into effect, might accomplish a sort of "bloodless revolution." The

⁵¹ *Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1889; *Alliance*, January 11, 1890, December 20, 1890; Blood, *Handbook*, p. 39; McVey, "The populist Movement," *loc. cit.*, p. 137; Compare H. C. Nixon, "The Cleavage within the Farmers' Alliance Movement", *M. V. H. R.*, Vol. XV, 1928-1929, pp. 22-33.

⁵² *St. Louis Republic*, December 5, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, January 4, 1890, p. 242; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, p. 75.

Northwestern and the Southern Alliances drew up separate platforms, but the two documents exhibited such a surprising degree of similarity that they might almost have been interchanged. There was, to be sure, a difference in emphasis. The Southern Alliance, for example, was interested more in financial problems than in anything else, whereas the Northwestern Alliance was terribly in earnest about the railroads and the disappearance of the public lands. But both organizations called for financial reforms of an inflationist nature, both protested against the excessive land holdings of the railroads and against any landholding by aliens, and both asked for the government to take over and operate all means of transportation and communication. Barring the fact that the Northwestern Alliance seemed to have overlooked the free silver issue, there was on the three fundamental issues of land, transportation and finance virtually no North and no South. Each order, indeed, was consciously attempting to state a creed which would satisfy the greatest possible number, whether within or without its organization. Southern Alliancemen were far from unanimity in conceding that government ownership of the railroads was desirable, and yet they put such a clause into their platform, no doubt merely to satisfy the wishes of the northern farmers and the laborites. Both sets of demands trimmed considerably on the tariff, although difference of opinion on this subject was mainly confined to the North.⁵³

The Southern Alliance scored the sensation of the meeting in announcing publicly and officially a plan of co-operation between "the millions who till the soil" and "the millions who consume the product of their labor." This was embodied in a wordy agreement which preceded the formal demands and recited that:⁵⁴

The undersigned committee representing the Knights of Labor having read the demands of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union which are embodied in this agreement hereby endorse the same on behalf of the Knights of Labor, and for the purpose of giving practical effect to the demands herein set forth, the legislative committee of both organizations will act in concert before Congress for the purpose of securing the enactment of laws in harmony with the demands mutually agreed.

And it is further agreed, in order to carry out these objects, we will support for office only such men as can be depended upon to enact these principles in statute law uninfluenced by party caucus.

⁵³ Both platforms are given in full with comments by Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, pp. 291-293.

⁵⁴ *St. Louis Republic*, December 3, 7, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, December 21, 1889, pp. 214-215; Bryan, *Farmers' Alliance*, pp. 33-34.

To emphasize further the newly cemented bond with labor, the Southern Alliance constitution was amended so as to permit mechanics to join the order. One might even think that the absorption of the Knights was the ultimate goal of the farmers, whatever the laborers may have thought. While the Northwestern Alliance could point to no formal agreement with a labor organization, it stated in no uncertain terms its sympathy "with the just demands of labor of every grade" and it recognized "that many of the evils from which the farming community suffers oppress universal labor, and that therefore producers should unite in a demand for the reform of unjust systems and the repeal of laws that bear unequally upon the people."⁵⁵

The Alliance demands at St. Louis were not consciously designed to be the platform of a new political party. Political action was contemplated, but obviously the plan was still to work within existing parties. Men should be chosen to office who would do their utmost to enact into law the policies outlined, and, if the Alliance-Knights declaration should prove effective, wholly regardless of the will of a party majority. Some of the more regular party men were aghast at the idea of ignoring party discipline as expressed in the will of a caucus, but to others this seemed merely to be good sense. Let the farmers of America, and the laborers, too, if they would, make use of the power they possessed. Let them force the government, whether in state or nation, to redress just grievances. It was in this expression of a common class program that the St. Louis action was significant. Union of the various orders was not accomplished; indeed, union was deemed by many to be wholly undesirable. But a unity of purpose, never so well expressed before, was definitely asserted.⁵⁶

Following the St. Louis gathering something closely akin to a unity of leadership was also accomplished. With some justification the southern leaders now assumed the right to direct the whole farmers' movement. The northern leaders furnished them no real rivalry, for the loosely drawn ties of the Northwestern Alliance made only for impotence in matters of national importance. On the other

⁵⁵ Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, pp. 285, 292. The clause in the Southern Alliance constitution adopted at St. Louis, "opened membership to farmers, preachers, teachers and doctors residing in rural districts as well as to mechanics and editors of agricultural journals." In 1890, however, this was again amended, and mechanics to be eligible had thereafter to be "country" mechanics, and the editors of farm journals, to profess Alliance views. See also, *Globe-Democrat*, December 7, 1889.

⁵⁶ *St. Louis Republic*, December 6, 7, 1889; *National Economist*, Vol. II, February 1, 1890, p. 305.

hand, the recently revised constitution of the Southern Alliance retained the highly centralized organization which had proved so effective in promoting the rapid growth of the order, and which, presumably, would prove equally effective in pushing forward the various items of the Alliance program. Delegates, two from each state and one additional for each ten thousand members, constituted a Supreme Council, which met each year to make laws and determine policies for the whole order. Between sessions a president, assisted by a powerful executive committee, carried on the work. The national officers had power, were well-paid, and were expected to do something.⁵⁷ For the presidency the St. Louis meeting chose L. L. Polk.

The Southern Alliance had not only a constitution better adapted to the needs of the moment, but it had also the advantage of greater numbers. At the time of the St. Louis gathering it was already two or three times as large as the Northwestern Alliance, and following that meeting it drew the Dakotas and Kansas into its fold, leaving the northern order still weaker in comparison. The southern leaders determined, moreover, to give up their former policy of keeping out of northern territory, and to "make a grand break across the Mason and Dixon line." As President Polk phrased it, "We took the farmers and laborers of the North and of the East and of the West by the hands, and to-day we are trampling sectionalism under our feet." In spite of some opposition from the "Open" Alliance, as the National Farmers' Alliance was now often called to distinguish it from the secret Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, the southern workers pushed successfully into states as far west as Washington, Oregon and California, and as far east as Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. The rather ably edited *National Economist* poured Alliance propaganda over the whole country, and published without discrimination such news of the activities of all the farmer organizations as it could gather. Perhaps the expressed desire of the southern leaders "to break down sectional lines" was not wholly gratified, but they did succeed in focussing public attention, north as well as south, upon themselves. What they said and did was generally construed to represent the will of most Alliancemen.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *National Economist*, Vol. II, December 21, 1889, p. 213; Drew, "Present Farmers' Movement," *loc. cit.*, p. 285.

⁵⁸ *New York Times*, December 1, 1890; Blood, *Handbook*, pp. 47-58.

The months immediately following the St. Louis meeting showed the Alliance at the height of its power. For a time the Democratic Party in the southern states all but completely succumbed to Alliance influence, choosing men of Alliance principles as candidates for office, and enacting into law many local Alliance demands. In the northwestern states Alliance influence upon the policy of the Republican Party was marked, but in 1890 separate Alliance tickets under one name or another were quite generally nominated, and many Alliance candidates were successful. Yet the triumph of the Alliance, as such, was short-lived. It was seriously hurt by the decision of the southern leaders to bring to the front a chimerical scheme of financial reform known as the "Sub-Treasury," which they had presented at St. Louis but had not included as a part of the official demands. This scheme won general denunciation outside Alliance circles, and was subjected to much criticism from within, especially among northerners. The ridicule which the measure drew, and the internal dissensions which it provoked, cost the Alliance thousands of members. But it was the decision, reached during the years 1891 and 1892, to launch a third party which gave the Alliance its death blow. Most southern Alliancemen, in common with other southern whites, believed in one party for white men and one party only. They looked upon the formation in the South of this rival People's Party as treason to the race, and when the Alliance pointed to the new party as the one sure way of salvation, they were no longer Alliancemen. On the other hand, those Alliancemen, northern or southern, who embraced Populism, were apt to lose their ardor for the older organization. They regarded the Alliance as an outworn institution which, by ushering the People's Party into the world, had accomplished its purpose. Each year the number of delegates in attendance on Alliance conventions declined. Each year the attention accorded such gatherings by the press diminished. Until well towards the end of the nineties the old organizations were generally maintained, but by the end of the decade they seem to have disappeared completely.

It is interesting to speculate upon what might have been had the Alliance movement not developed into an independent political party. Could an effective farm organization roughly comparable to the American Federation of Labor have been evolved? Would any farm order have foundered upon the rock of returning prosperity?

Could a living Alliance have done more for the farmers' cause than the Populist Party did by its death? The historian may ask such questions, but he may not answer them.

TWELVE NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES IN 1810-1811

By A. R. NEWSOME

IV.

MOORE COUNTY

By [].¹

Mess^{rs}. Thomas Henderson & C^o.

Gentlemen:

I had the Honor of receiving some time ago, your letter Soliciting a description of the County of *Moore*.—It is unfortunate both to the object you have in View as well as to the Character of the County that your choice in this particular did not fall on a More happy and descriptive Genius,—on a person better qualifified to do justice to the Subject both as to capacity and information, and on one who could devote more time to the researches necessary for your inquiries—My own private affairs which required much of my attention, together with an anxiety to collect better information than I possessed & a diffidence arising from a Conscious inability of being equal to the task, have hitherto delayed, and are my only apologies for not, complying with your wishes sooner—Having now commenced I shall make my remarks in the same Numerical order with your Inquiries, without taking time to insert the Defferent Heads at large.

The county of Moore was formerly a part of Cumberland and was divided from that county in the year 1784,² It is bounded by Cumberland County on the South East—from Cape Fear River to Drowning Creek, for the distance of 42½ miles, thence by Drowning Creek which Divides it from Richmond and a part of Montgomery Counties to the Head thereof thence by Montgomery, for 14 miles to Randolph County, and bounded on the North by part of Randolph and Chatham Counties, being the Southern Boundary of the Earl of Granvels³ land—Its Shape is

¹ The sketch is unsigned and it has not been possible to ascertain the author.

² In 1784, the General Assembly passed an act dividing Cumberland County "by a line beginning at Cole's bridge on Drowning Creek, thence a direct line to the corner of Wake and Johnston Counties in Cumberland line, and all that part of Cumberland lying to the northwest of the new line, shall be a separate and distinct county by the name of Moore county." Thomas Matthews, John Robertson, Willis Dickerson, Philip Alston, and John Jackson were appointed commissioners to erect a court house, prison and stocks. Thomas Matthews and Ica Adkins were designated to run the dividing line. *S. R.*, XXIV, 644-645. The next session of the General Assembly changed the location of the dividing line to "begin at Cole's bridge, on Drowning creek, thence a direct line to the Cumberland and Chatham line, on the south side of the river Cape Fear"; designated Thomas Armstrong, William Seals, and William Rand to run the line; and appointed Thomas Matthews, John Cox, Phillip Johnson and William Mears to select the site of the public buildings. *S. R.*, XXIV, 703-705.

Moore County was named for Alfred Moore of Brunswick County (1755-1810), a colonel in the Revolution, attorney general, legislator, state judge, and an associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1799-1804. S. A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 302-306.

³ Sir John Carteret (Lord Granville) declined to sell his proprietary share of Carolina to the King in 1729. The king ordered the portion of Carolina north of 35° 34' to be set aside as his portion. This line later formed the southern boundary of Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, and Rowan counties. S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 267.

nearly that of a Wedge with the point on Cape Fear River. It contains about 490,000 Acres⁴ or 765 Square Miles, near 300,000 acres of which is supposed to be Sand hills or pine Barrens; our population according to the last enumeration is 63[blank]⁵ giving an increase in Ten Years of about 1500, being 3½ P. Cent P Annum which would double our Numbers in Twenty Seven Years We have at present about 77 acres to every Inhabitant or a little more than 8 persons to every Square Mile. In the Northern Section of the county that portion water[ed] by Deep River and its Branches, which is Supposed to Contain four fifths of the whole Number of Inhabitants is thought to be Settled at the proportion of 22 persons to every Mile Square, leaving to the rest of the County but 2½ to the Same Surface.—The face of the country Varies in proportion as you advance to, or recede from Deep River, the Growth is always Indicative of the fertility or Sterility of the Soil—The Sand Hills in general yielding no other timber than the Yellow pine, from the sameness and uniformity of appearance, afford too little Variety to be pleasing to the View; the Gentle inequalities of the surface are all that relieves the wearied Eye.—“You constantly meet with little Hills which Nature seems to have disunited in a frolic”—In the Neighbourhood of the River and on its largest Branches the Scene changes—Here Hills and dales with their Verdure and Variegated Beauties present themselves to the view with Constant Variety—Here the land is covered with valuable woods of different Kinds—Here the soil is equal to the production of every Vegetable in the greatest perfection, and here Agriculture is exhibiting beautiful prospects, and yielding to the Inhabitants the necessities and comforts of Life, besides the Means of acquiring wealth and Riches—The River Lands are abundantly fertile, Very little inferior to any in the State; Lands in this Quarter Sell from 4 to \$10 P acre On the Large Creeks Land is worth from 2 to \$4 p acre—In the Sand Hills when Improved; from 1 to \$2—& unimproved from 25 cents to \$1.⁶—The County Generally may be said to be well watered, that in the Sand Hills Soft but Healthy, the springs in the rest of the County are Cool & transparent—The first Settlem^{ts} in Moore were about the Year 1745. At that time it was a frontier Settlement, very few Inhabitants, Mostly Hunters that came from the Eastern part of the State. Some from Virginia—coming upwards of 100 Miles for the sake of Game, when they payed two or three Visits of this kind, they moved their families, the acco^{ts}. brought back, brought forward more Adventurers, & the settlements increased gradually from hunting Camps & temporary Shelters to Local habitations & permanent residence. At this period the Deer and Buffaloe traversed the forests in large Herd in great security, interupted only by the occasional incursions of the artless Indian; Until the more artful and skilful European marked their footsteps with inflexible persecution & inivitable destruc-

⁴ In 1815, the acreage listed for taxation was 312,662. *Murphrey Papers*, II, 167.

⁵ The population in 1810 was 6,367, an increase of 1,600 since the census of 1800. *Ninth Census*, I, 52-54.

⁶ In 1815, the average price at which Moorē County land was assessed for the federal direct tax was \$1.11 per acre and for the state tax, \$1.08. *Murphrey Papers*, II, 165-167.

tion—The Buffaloes from instinct or from placing too little dependance on their own fleetness, fled from the impending danger, and left in this case as in every other instance, the encroachments and Neighbourhood of Civilized Man.—The former however being less timd, more fleet, or more attached (like all good Modern Patriots) to their Native Soil, with Spartan constancy hold to their Antient possession (as if incapable of Migration) at the evident risque, an event not very remote, of the extinction of their Race.—The persuit of these animals were the objects of the first settlers, who were principally men that followed no other occupation than Hunting & devoted the principal part of their time to it, until the advantage of raising cattle & horses drew their attention—Now they began to clear little plantations, paying more attention to the Quality of the range, than of the Soil, in their choice of Situations—with a little field of Indian Corn for bread, and a spot for cullinary Vegetables, together with the forest, that Supplyed with Meat, in abundance their tables, and a few Cows that were kept gentle for Milk & butter—These temperate people (especially if they had a few bottles of Rum) had not a wish ungratifyed,—The peltry of these animals especially the Deer that of the Buffaloe being too weighty & Bulky for the Convenience of transportation supplyed them with ammunition Salt, Iron & some trifling House utensils, besides being converted into a principal part of their dress—Those that paid more attention to Stock than to Hunting and both could be persued at once were soon enabled to purchase Slaves and possessed Considerable Wealth—But those whose passion for Hunting surpassed every other conssderation, were then, as they have remained since, poor & Indigent.

There is nothing remarkable in the History of Moore, nor was there a single circumstance during the Revolutionary War⁷ that could attract the Attention of the Historian.—That they suffered their share of the common calamity incident to War—is certain, but that their distress arose from the depredation of Freebooters and Marauders, that had very little of the Interest of either party at Heart and not from Located or Marching Armies is equally true.—The only event that could claim title to record an Honor hitherto withheld, was an attack by the famous David Fanning on Colonel Phillip Alston in the Hous Occupied at present by Col^o. Benjⁿ. Williams⁸ on Deep River In the Year 1780 Fanning with from 60 to 70 men attempted to surprise Col^o. Alston in his own House who had from 25 to 30 Men, Fanning advanced before day towards the House, Alstons Centenal fired and gave the Alarm—Fannings Men Sheltered themselves behind trees that were within Gun shot of the House, and in the locks of a High fence that enclosed the Buildings—Alston had no other security but the thin Shell of a frame House two Story High—The Action continued from a little before day until 10 OClock, when an attempt

⁷ Tories were numerous in the Cumberland County section. *C. R.*, X, 669; *S. R.*, XI, 534-535; XII, 811-812, 832, 838-839, 877; XIV, iii; XV, v, 589-590; XXII, 1044-1046.

⁸ Benjamin Williams was governor, 1799-1802, 1807-1808. For sketches of his life, see S. A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 467-472; W. J. Adams, *A Sketch of Governor Benjamin Williams*.

was made to set the Buildings on fire—This attempt tho abortive, was succeed by measures for an other that threttened to be more Successful; which induced the besieged to offer Terms of capitulation, which were accepted, & the garrison Surrendered.—this capitulation gave to the conquerors the arms of the Vanquished and to the latter their liberty on parole—Both Commanders beheaved with great bravery, but unfortunately for Alston all his men were not the Legitimate Sons of Mars, Some absolutely refused & did not pretend to fight, while the fighting of others consisted in pretence only—And it is worthy of remark that those who refused to fight being two in Number were the only men Slain, 'tho Several others were Mortally Wounded of Alstons Numbers, Fanning had 3 Men Kild & 7 or 8 Wounded—Alston the two already mentioned killed & 6 or 7 Wounded,—Fanning after the action Neither Suffered his men to plunder nor exult in their Success.—⁹

3rd. The only Stream of any consequence that waters Moore is Deep River, which fertilizes the Northern part of the County—It enters the County from the North West about 10 Miles from the most Western point and after Meandering through it for about 12 or 13 Miles and receiving Several large Creeks from the South it again Crosses the line not far from the Middle, and continues its sinuosities within one & not more than four Miles from the line until it meets Haw River.—It is a handsome River generally from 60 to 80 yards wide—There is no serious obstacle to its being rendered Navigable but the falls above Ramseys Mills in Chatham County, where a considerable canal is already cut through most of the falls—The upper and Lower little Rivers of Cape Fear have their Sources in Moore, the former of these a Small and inconsiderable stream the latter the most important in the State of its Size, for the quantity of Lumber it furnishes for the West India Markets, It has not become the bearer of any Lumber from the County altho' it annually carries Several Millions of feet from Cumberland¹⁰—It runs 20 Miles through Moore and is thought capable of Navigation half that distance—of Minerology, we have Iron ore, black lead, and red and yellow Ore in abundance—Of Medicinal Springs we have discovered none but a few possessing Chalybiate¹¹ Qualities.—Nothing further under this head deserve to be Mentioned.

4th. The Quantity of produce we send to Market is Quite uncertain, there being no possible data by which it can be ascertained.—Tobacco, Cotton and wheat are the Staple commodities, but we send also, Pork, Beefs, Tallow and bees wax in considerable quantities Fayetteville is our

⁹ According to Fanning's own account of this incident, which occurred in the summer of 1781 instead of 1780, the attack was made because of the harsh treatment of one of his pilots. Alston had about 25 men in his company. The attack began at dawn and continued for three hours until, with four of his men killed and all the rest except three wounded, Col. Alston sent out a flag of surrender. "Col. Alstine's lady begging their lives." Alston was released on parole. Two of Fanning's men were killed and four wounded slightly. General John Butler stated in a letter to Governor Burke that Alston had 15 or 20 men. S. R., XXII, 202-203, 557. Phillip Alston represented Cumberland County in the Provincial Congress of November, 1776, and in the House of Commons, 1777. He represented Moore County in the state Senate, 1786. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 396, 574, 710.

¹⁰ *Laws of North Carolina*, 1804, ch. 37.

¹¹ Chalybeate—impregnated with salts of iron.

Market, but to Wilmington & New York Considerable Quantities of Cotton & Tobacco are annually Sent.¹²—one of

5th. We have not many that may be truly said to be men of Wealth, we have considerable Numbers in affluent, and still more in easy circumstances, but take us in the aggregate, and we may be considered in that Medium, that neither feels the fettering trammels of Indigence; nor the Licentious freedom of pampered Wealth”—but we have Surely more below than above Mediocrity.¹³

6th. Towns we have none, Fagansville¹⁴ a village at the Court House containing 8 or 10 dwelling Houses is the only place that claims a title to the Name—The Major part of our buildens are Log Houses—but there are a Number of Elegent & commodious buildens in the County, & a taste for improvements in this way is becoming universal—

7th. Agriculture is not carried on here Systemattically There is indeed more attention paid to the Manuring old and less to clearing of new lands than formerly.—Numbers profess to be making experiments—They remain yet in Embryo, and perhaps may never See the light—or be of that class of births called Stillborn Yet in *the old way* we are not behind our Neighbours 'tho' we do not profess to have added a single new link to the Chain of Agriculture—Our Domestic Animals are the Same & no way different from those throughout the State—Horses black Cattle, Sheep and Hogs, we raise to perfection and in great Numbers—We have neither many Mules nor Goats, but time may teach the propriety and advantage of raising both—

8th. We have no manufactories unless the efforts of a couple of Riffle Makers deserve that name—these Men are Self Taught and believed to excell any Gun Smiths in the State for Neteness and Elegence of Work, The Profits of David Kennedy is worth about \$15,00 and that of his Brother¹⁵ about \$1000 P Annum.—We have no Breweries, we have a few distillies of inconsederable Value—Of Labour-Saving Machines we have the Cotton Gin, the packing Screw and the Spinning Machine—besides those in ordinary use.¹⁶

9th. For this we refer to N^o. 4

¹² During the year ending September 30, 1816, 2,337 hogsheads of tobacco and 8,292 bales of cotton were boated from Fayetteville. The exports from Wilmington for the six months ending March 31, 1816, included 1,309 hogsheads of tobacco and 2,900 bales of cotton. *Murphy Papers*, II, 158.

¹³ Moore County was a region of small farmers. In 1790, the largest slaveowner was Burwell Lanier with 28. Only 118 out of 713 heads of families owned slaves: 3 owned 20 or more; 10 from 10 to 20; 30, from 5 to 10; and 75, less than 5 each. *S. R.*, XXVI, 788-802. In 1810, there were only 944 slaves in a total population of 6,367. Slave ownership increased gradually until in 1860 there were 2,518 slaves in a total population of 11,427. *Ninth Census*, I, 52-54.

¹⁴ In 1806, the name of the county seat was changed from Carthage to Fagansville. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1806, ch. 48. In 1796, Malcom McNeill, Malcom Munroe, Thomas McReynolds, Cornelius Dowd, and William Martin were appointed commissioners to lay off the town of Carthage on a tract of 60 acres. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1796, ch. 85. Evidently nothing was done, for in 1803 Richardson Feagon, Bryant Burroughs, James Dowd, William Martin, and Malcom Monroe were directed to carry into effect the act of 1796. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1803, ch. 28.

¹⁵ David Kennedy and Alexander Kennedy, who was perhaps his brother, were appointed trustees of Mount Parnassus Academy in 1809. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1809, ch. 76.

¹⁶ In 1811, the total value of manufactures in Moore County was reported to be \$52,800 per year, including 650 rifles valued at \$9,500; 600 looms producing 100,500 yards of cloth worth \$39,-550; 30 distilleries producing 5,000 gallons valued at \$3,200; 2 powder mills manufacturing 400 pounds worth \$400; and 20 cotton gins having 400 saws. "Report of Manufactures within the State of North Carolina," by Beverly Daniel, Marshal for the District of North Carolina, January 1, 1811, in *The Star* (Raleigh), February 21, 1811. Daniel's assistant in Moore County was Archibald McNeill.

10th. Altho' our Streams abound with fish yet we cannot be Said to have any fisheries—Our Game is the Deer, the Wild Turky, Squerrel Patredges & Doves—¹⁷

11th. The State of Society at present is very different from what it was Twenty five or Thirty Years ago, the Licentious & Leberteine prenciples imbibed during the Revolution, left us at the end of the War in a State of [torn] *Barbarism*. Those who during that period, plundered without controle, responsibility or peril, on the reestablishment of Courts of Justice, found it necessary to change their system to procure the same Means—Burgularies, Robberies, Homicides, Horse Stealing, and minor thefts, were the consquence, and it required the union and exertions of all Honest men for Some time to Suppress them—Happily for us the Scene is changed, Harmony, Cordialty, Morality, decency and Social order, appear to reign in their Sted; and perhaps there is not a County in the State, where felonies and Larcenies are less frequent at present, than in Moore The Society on Deep River is respectable the old Settlers have given way to men of property Decency & Character.—

12th. We have had three or four Academies in Moore in which the Languages have been taught and a few regular and Standing Schools, there is now but one of these Academies of much importance; the Teachers in the others being Presbyterian Clergemen, owing either to arrangements of their Presbytry's, a necessity for a change of climate for the Health of themselves or famalies, together perhaps, with advantageous offers from abroad, they have left their Schools & academies to be managed by teachers that have not yet been found¹⁸—Of men of talents we are not distetute. In divinity we have held men of abilities, In Law and politics we yet hold men justly intitled to that distinction both Natives and & foreigners

13th. Of Learned professional men we have at present no Residents either in Divinity or Physic—In Law we are more fortunate we have two distinguished Characters in that profession—Moore may be said to be a Nursery of Young Lawyers¹⁹—Under the Superintendance of M^r. M^c.

¹⁷ As late as 1801 there was legislation to encourage the killing of wolves in Moore County. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1801, ch. 85.

¹⁸ In 1804, Solemn Grove Academy near Mount Helicon was authorized with Hector McNeill, Neill Smith, Duncan Patterson, Archibald McBride, William Martin, Jacob Gastor, Alexander Graham, Rev. Malcolm McNair, and Daniel Brown as trustees. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1804, ch. 42. In 1809, Bryan Boroughs, David Kennedy, William Waddie, Neil McLeod, and Alexander Kennedy were constituted trustees of Mount Parnassus Academy. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1809, ch. 76. The General Assembly of 1811 authorized the establishment of Euphronian Academy with Murdock McMillan, Archibald McBryde, Murdock McKenzie, William Tyson, Thomas Tyson, Benjamin Williams, William Martin, and Atlas Jones as trustees. A building was erected and the school opened in April, 1812, under the charge of Rev. M. McMillan. It was located on the south side of Deep River about one mile from McKenzie's Store. Tuition for spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic was \$2.50 per quarter, and for English grammar, Latin, Greek, geography, natural and moral philosophy, \$4.00 per quarter. Board in private families, including firewood, candles, washing, etc., could be secured for \$15 per quarter. Thomas Tyson was president of the board of trustees. Rev. M. McMillan was still in charge of the Academy in 1823. *The North Carolina Register*, 1823, 63; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1811, ch. 43; *The Star*, April 17, 1812.

¹⁹ The first Moore County graduate of the University was Atlas Jones of the class of 1804. In 1823, Atlas Jones and John B. Kelly were resident practicing attorneys, and E. G. Henry and Kenneth B. McIver were resident physicians. K. P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 788; *The North Carolina Register*, 1823, 47, 57.

Bryde²⁰ Numbers have imbibed the Elements of Law, Several of whom are already distinguished at the Bar—and under the care of that Gentleman at present are a Number of Young men pressing forward for the same prize—

14th. The proportion of the Citizens that can read and write must be intirely Conjectural—The result from 20 families in one Settlement give the proportion of 68 to 22 excluding only those that have arrived to the age of that aquirem^t Should this calculation hold good throughout the County three fourths of Inhabitants can read & write—25 Years ago reversing this Scale might be near the truth, but it is surely within bounds to say that not more than half at that period could write and Read—

15. None

16. None

17. Relegion is at present in a flourishing State in this County, great Cordiality and Harmony prevail among the different professions, neither Jealousies nor annimosities appear; they may be said literally “to agree to disagree.”—Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists are the prevailing professions, and they excell in Number in the order they are Named.—There is at present but three regular presbyterian Congregations in Moore, owing to the Removeal of two Clergymen of that profession lately from the County—The Numbers of Communicants are about 200 The Bابتist have a Number of Societies and Churches, but are likely to be soon out Numbered by the Methodists, whose popular Doctrins plans, zeal, and delegeence are better Calculated than any other profession, to make prosolytes of the common people.—Within the orbit of their Circutes are a Number of places for Stated preachings in this County—We have also a few Quakers, orderly, Industrious and worthy Members of the Community—

18th. In the Year 1798 on the 24th. of March a dreadful Tornado passed through this County. Its course was on a direct line 12 to 15 Degrees North of East it passed with astoneshing Velocety & force—It was generally a quarter of a Mile in width—for a distance of 25 Miles from where it entered the County, It tore and destroyed every thing before it, every House within its influence was tore from its foundation—and leveled to the Ground—the largest trees were either Blown down broke in the Middle or twisted like a with to there very foundations, in short it made an avenue through the country wherever it went, with the timber lying in every possible direction, at least there appears as many fallen trees with their tops to windward as any other way.—It was accompanied by rain thunder & Lightning, the appearance of the clould was very awful —of a Brimstone Yellow—It had an internal tumultuous motion and comotion, that forebode the distructive influence of its approaching Power,— Sometimes it rose from the surface of the Earth, to spend its fury in mid air for Several Miles, and again gravitated to the Earth to commence its

²⁰ This was perhaps Archibald McBryde, one of the trustees of Solemn Grove Academy in 1804 and of Euphronian Academy in 1811, and in 1823 clerk of the superior court and postmaster at Tyson's Store. *The North Carolina Register*, 1823, 43, 69; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1804, ch. 42; *ibid.*, 1811, ch. 43.

ravages anew—Its progress while thus aloft was heard “like the rushings of many Waters” or the “roaring of the mighty wave against the Sea-beat Rock”.—Those who escaped it in this harmless ‘tho’ noisy manner, have reason to celebrate the Pass-over—Its duration was but a few Seconds—Its effects were instantaneous, for the mind had Scarcely any time to reflect from the Stroke of the blast, till its effects appeared, and its cause fled.—Like all other Whirlwinds it had a Circular and progressive Motion,* Its progressive Velocity, from the best information was about

*The Phenomenon of Whirlwinds has not as far as I have seen, been Satisfactorily explained by Philosophers They have ascribed it to great rarefaction in the air by Heat, which acts on a Large Space of Country at once and wherever the greatest Vacuum is produced the dense air rushing in from all Sides would meet in the center & produce a Whirl, which motion would continue to progress towards that quarter that was most rarefied & still continue its circular motion—or that it is occasioned by the same cause that produces a Water spout, viz Electricity emitting from the Earth or water in a Stream that moves in rapid succession from one point to another, and rarifying the air in its progress the circumambient air rushing in to restore the equilibrium, it will meet as in the other case in the center & produce the whirling or circular Motion, and to account for its disappearance in some places, & appearing again in another—They Suppose it will continue as far as the Earth is charged with & is discharging the Electrical Matter, and then cease; & commence again at any other point where Electricity is emitted.—To the first of these reasons it may be objected that whirlwinds do not always happen in hot weather, for this one I have described, happened in a cold season, besides rarefaction by heat, under the line does not produce these effects, Hurricanes appear to owe their origin to some Local cause besides Heat, for they are Seldom or never Under the Equinox, altho frequent near the Tropic of Cancer, the Most of the Windward Islands in the West Indies are out of Hurricane Latitudes—Whirlwinds differ from Storms produced by common rarefaction, in this, that their Motion is greater, for the wind in a common storm seldom exceeds 60 Miles an Hour: the Tornado that did such mischief in Charleston in 1761 had double that Velocity, besids these Storms always begin to leward, & the Whirlwinds always to wendward; these are material differences, seting the circular motion out of the question—besides also, they always go in a direct narrow tract seldom or never being more than half a mile in width—these winds therefore must be produced from different causes—The Second reason given (viz) Electricity issuing from the Earth, altho it is the most rational and engeneous theroy, is not without its difficulties—From whence comes the clouds that constantly attend them, & what gives to those clouds the astonishing progressive & tumultuous motion they acquire?—If it is Electricity issuing from the Earth what makes it leave the Surface, and have its usual appearance and noise in the air? From whence also come the rain that attend them.—Altho’ these objections Shew that Electricity cannot be the agent *in the manner described*, Yet I have no doubt but in some way or other it is the true cause of whirlwinds and Hurricanes. Our knowledge of Electricity and its action and power upon air is yet very imperfect, time may yet Shew, that without its agency we could never have rain—That we are not indebted to evaporation alone for this blessing.—The late discovery of converting air into water & water into air by heat may lead to that result.—and may also unfold the true cause of Whirlwinds, for once admit, that the Electrical fluid, will, change air into water or vice versa

(which is quite probable) and you have the plain road to discovery before you.—Electricity like all other fluids must seek a state of Equilibrium, when unattracted; when collected into a very dense Column as Metiors, it will acquire motion & progress with great velocity until that density is destroyed, Suppose therefore that a column of it has acquired great density & air being a conductor that density acquires motion as in a metior towards that place where there is the least positive quantity of the fluid; & suppose during this motion its action converts air into vapours, those vapours will form a cloud from whence Issues rain, the air being thus destroyed & converted into water the dense Surrounding air will rush in from all derrections to the centre, with astonishing Velocity to fill up the Vacuum—The air thus meeting in the center, with great motion, that motion cannot instantly cease or be destroyed, it will therefore move towards that space that yields the least resistance—From the proximity of the Earth, when moving on its Surface, it cannot descend; and the pressure being equal on every side, in its Horizontal motion, it has no possibillity of escaping, but by ascending into the atmosphere—and it is not difficult to prove, that a fluid moving from all directions to any given Center, particularly if that motion be violent, that from that Center it will acquire a Spiral or Circular motion—This being admitted, the air in the center of a whirlwind must ascend, and ascend too, in a cercular motion which motion would be sufficient to carry a considerable distance above the Surface of the Earth large and Heavy Bodies—In its progress too the Electrical fluid might pass over places that might possess Negative or Repellant Electricity and from its repulsion, be forced above the surface of the Earth into the upper regions of the Air, without destroying its motion or appearance, and in this Case it would account for the ascention of the whirlwind I have described or any other—

Eighty Miles an Hour. It passed through this County a distance of thirty five miles, it is said to have crossed the Catabaw River 130 Miles from this County its progress to the East of Cape Fear River, I have not ascertained, but it is quite probable that its whole race exceeded 200 Miles—There was no person killed but some were crippled and several wounded in this county, and some remarkable Providenteal Escapes—Such as would give that Sublime Idea of the Great Firt Cause “He rides on the Whirl Winds and derects the Storms.”—

19 The deseases that affect the people of Moore prevail throughout the State—In proportion as our Lands have been Opened and cultivated our deseases have changed and assumed very different appearances—Intermitting fevers the most prevalent desease among the first Settlers, Seldom now occurs even in the Neighbourhood of the River, but in their Stead we have the Remitting or bilious fever, a more formidable Enemy, this generally Occurs in the fall of the Year when Vegetable Matter is turning to a state of putrefaction by a combination of heat & moisture and generating Miasma & other noxious exelations.—Generally about the same period appear the Nervous Fever which has some times an Epidemic Tendency—Both these complaints frequently prove fatal—In the lower parts of the State the former, in the upper, the latter the most prevalent and Critical, Moore I believe occupies a portion of that space, where the ascendancy may be doubtful, & their causes equal— and of course where neither rage with that Malignity attending their attacks in their respective districts—

To these succeed on the commencement of cold weather the Pleuricy and other inflammatory complaints, and continue to predominate throughout the winter Season until the approach of Spring when the Pluericy becomes the most frequent of all complaints—Phrenitis or inflammation of the Brain or what the common people call Head Pluericy—had become more frequent than formerly and in every instance but one within my knowledge has proved a fatal Visitor—Dropsies are also more frequent than some years ago, but less potent and energetic than the last complaint—being unable to make Victums of more than half its Subjects—The Chronic and inflammatory Rhuematisms are likewise more frequent than of former years, their effects tho' painful and often tedious are Seldom fatal—The frequency of these complaints of late may be more owing to the increase of our Numbers than to a change in our Climate or an increase of their Causes—The inflammatory & Putrid sore throat have been transient visitors but generally harmless in their Consequences—Once in 5 or Six years the Dysentary Visits this county and in whatever quarter it makes its attacts appears Epidemic, from the first of June till the first of August in other respects the healthiest part of the year it generally occurs—This painful and disagreeable complaint Seldom Visits and leaves a family, without a fatal cause of Rememberance and dread of its return—We have our proportion (in so warm a Climate) of Consumptive Patients—This Complaint, often under the denomination of a cold make imperceptable and insidious attacks, frequently undermining the constitution, before the Enemy is discovered, and preparation for defence thought of—with unremitting constancy, it continues to sap the citadel of Life, with unerring effect, till the work of destruction is compleated.—The Asthma is more frequent but of less fatal consequence—We are not exempt from Paralytic Visitations. The Palsy has in some instances acted as a speedy Agent and attacked his Victums with fatal dispatch while it has suffered others to possess a Miserable life for several years deprived of their usefulness & half their Organs—in addition to these we have the inflammations of the Viscera, particularly of the Kidnies, Liver and Stomach, the two last the most critical—Besides Colics and most of the minor deseases to which Humanity is Subject—to describe the treatment followed in these deseases with their Remedies would very far exceed the limits I assigned this work—if any particluar desease could be cured with infalable certainty in a New way, or had a Panacea, or any Specifick been discovered for any Complaints, I would with Clearfulness relate the process followed for the public good—but altho' we have had no practitioner in Phisic in Moore (for reliance on such aid will prevent discoveries) and altho in every case some Simples²¹ are resorted to, which would lead to the belief that some discovery might be made of the efficacy of some Native Simples, Yet I have not been able to learn that any thing of importance can be added to the Materia Medica from this Quarter—if the observation be cor-

²¹ Medicinal plants. Each plant was supposed to possess a virtue and to constitute a simple remedy.

rect that "Every Country produces remedies for its deseases" there are many valuable Medicine in this country yet undiscovered.—I must confess my ignorance of a great manny plants in use among the Emperics²² of Moore the want of regular bred Physicians, render the Number Quacks considerable & they make a Secret of the means used in many cases, which is in most instances a Security against a discovery of the imbecility of their Skill and practice—I will however Mention a few of those means Veiled in this Manner and in frequent use—

Emetics, Ipecacuanha (a Native plant) Cross wort²³ Decoction of Peach tree leaves, Asarabacca,²⁴ May apple²⁵ &c.

Cathartics, Indian Turnips,²⁶ Peach tree Blossoms White Ash Bark, He May apples, Elder flowers, Sena²⁷

Tonics, Red oak Dogwood and Wild cherry Barks, Buck root, Dogwood Berries

Astringents, red root²⁸ decoction, Black berry brier root ditto, Blood root²⁹ powder, the Inner Bark of pine.

Pectorals,³⁰ Wild & Tame Horehound,³¹ Horehound Syrup, Flaxseed Syrup, Tar water, Decoction of Honets nests, ground Ivie, Honey, Garlic, Elecampane³² Golden rod

Vermifuge Decoction of chaena tree bark Jeruselem Oak³³ Seed & leaves, wormwood Tanzy³⁴ Rue.³⁵

Sudorifics, Lifeeverlasting³⁶ Tea, Seneca Rattle Snake root,³⁷ Sasafras Tea, black Snake root Spice wood

Carminatives—³⁸

To remove flatulence & colic, Infusion of Dogwood Burries Calamus, Star Grass,³⁹ Buck root infusion the root of the Sweet cented Shrub

Anti Rhuematic, Infusion of Poke berries & root

Discutients⁴⁰ externally, Boar tush, Marsh Mallow,⁴¹ White Plantains,⁴² Elder Bark & flowers Escharotics,⁴³ Pocoon⁴⁴ root, Walnut root Bark, Poison Oak—

²² Empiric—one who deviates from the rules of science and regular medicine; a quack.

²³ Any one of several plants having leaves in whorls of four.

²⁴ Any plant of the genus Asarum.

²⁵ The swamp apple.

²⁶ The jack-in-the-pulpit or its acrid, turniplike root.

²⁷ Senna.

²⁸ A haemodoraceous plant of the southern United States, with sword-shaped leaves, cymose woolly flowers, and a red root.

²⁹ A plant with red root and red sap, bearing a solitary lobed leaf and white flower. It has acrid, emetic properties.

³⁰ Remedies for the diseases of the chest or lungs.

³¹ A European mint, naturalized in the United States, with aromatic smell and bitter taste.

³² A large asteraceous herb with yellow-rayed heads of flowers. The root is used as a tonic.

³³ Wormwood.

³⁴ Tanzy—any asteraceous plant of the genus Tanacetum. The common tanzy has a strong odor

and very bitter taste.

³⁵ A perennial suffrutescent plant having yellow flowers, a strong odor, and bitter taste.

³⁶ American cudweed.

³⁷ Any of the various plants formerly of repute in the southern part of the United States as a remedy for snake bites.

³⁸ Remedies for colic.

³⁹ Colicroot.

⁴⁰ Serving to disperse morbid matter.

⁴¹ A perennial malvaceous herb, velvety-pubescent, with ovate leaves and pink blossoms. The root is used in medicine as a demulcent.

⁴² Any plant of the genus Plantago.

⁴³ Serving to form an eschar.

⁴⁴ The Virginia Indian name of a plant yielding red dye.

I could enlarge this list if necessary, Yet my Skill in Botany is very imperfect—I have designedly confined my self to such remedies as are Natives, or are to be found in every Garden—The application of Exotic⁴⁵ Medicine ‘tho’ frequent in many families is not to be taken into the General View, where there is no Practical Physician, and their Virtues less known than those means which Nature has placed within the reach of common and general observation—In addition to these means Blood letting is generally, & too often improperly, resorted to as Auxiliary—for some Phlebotomists,⁴⁶ Volunteer their Services (*from Professional pride*) disregarding effects or Consequence; and owing too often to an equal want of Skill in the Patients friends, he is Seldom denied the pleasure of the operation.—The Ague is sometimes removed by the application of Cold water, but it is Said, to have the desired effect, it must be applyed without the previous knowledge of the Patient—immediately before, or on the approach of the first Symtoms of the cold Stage a bucket of Cold water is to be poured on the head & shoulder of the Patient when in a Sitting position—This gives such a shock to the Systom, accelerates the circulation, that is becoming languid & feeble, gives tone to the affected Vessels and Banishes the exciting cause—I have known several that tryed the experiments and each had the expected result—There is an other Sampson Remedy to be described, to produce perspiration in a fever not attended with that discharge, the following applications have been frequently used—8 or 10 Green white oak blocks from 8 to 10 Inches long or double their Numbers of large Ears of Corn are Boiled as hot as boiling water can make them, and then placed round the Patient in bed at right angles with his body and covered together with blankets to confine the Steam. Here the Patient is left Stewing until the whole cools by degrees, the Vapour being condensed into drops, a fine perspiration is pronounced to be the consequence, and credulity or reality has in most cases ascribed to this Steam Diaphoretic,⁴⁷ the greatest benefit—This kind of Sweating is Still practiced among the Indians (*from whom in all probability it was borrowed*) and with them is immediately followed by an Immersion into cold water—Such transitions from one extream to an other, in our opinion would be followed by the most fatal consequence—And I am not disposed to vindicate the one or the other of these measures,—But I am not so sure, should it be condemned by the Faculty, that their disapprobation would be a Sufficient evidence of the Error; Have they not often condemned what was afterward approved & vice versa—in Saying this I have no wish to give offence to the Disciples of Aesculapius⁴⁸—I would rather labour under the effects of their Medicine (especially in a fever) than their displeasure—They will therefore permit me to state the following Queries—

Are the Indians who are so celibrated for their discoveries in the efficacies of plants & remedies for all complaints incident to the Human body,

⁴⁵ Foreign.

⁴⁶ Those who practice phlebotomy or blood letting.

⁴⁷ A sudorific; having power to produce perspiration.

⁴⁸ Asclepius was the Greek god of medicine and healing.

So void of Judgement and reflection, as to continue a practice, the Operation & effects of which, would prove generally fatal? Have Physicians, Sufficiently experienced the effects of Heat and Cold, Separately and in Succession upon the Human body, to convence them, that such measures would have a deleterious tendency? And if they have doubts on this Subject, are they convinced that they understand the Oeconomy of the Human System, so well, as to determen against the effects of such relaxing & stimulating agents as heat & Cold (when conveyed through the tonic efficacy of water) in succession, & applyed to the Body when in a state of direct or indirect debility? Has not the affusion of cold water on the Body in some fevers been already introduced into practice? And if the relaxation & debility produced by a Typhus fever are removed with its cause by such a tonic, why not any other fever when excited by the heat of steam to the like debility with its preceeding cause? And are they Sure the exiting cause or flogiston⁴⁹ may not be banished by either or both of these Agents?—

Experience is superior to all reasoning upon Medicine the former can be followed with safety 'tho' the latter may be sufficient to account for the effect—the happy effects of heat and moisture by steam in the Chronic Rhuematism can be testefyed by a Number of Witness in this county—Several of these I am acquainted with, one of them I Saw the day before the application, he was cramped almost as round as a Ball, in the utmost pain and distress & had been in that situation for several days—He was placed on a Bench by the Steam Doctor, covered with Blankets that reach'd the floor to confine the steam Hot Stones were placed under the Bench on which water was poured to produce the desired moisture—In a short time, his joints relaxed his pains fled, and with one single application he was restored to ease health and activity—and for Ten Years, the period since passed, he has not felt any of its symptoms—And I have understood the same effect followed the same application in the Acute Rhuematism, if so why not in any other inflammatory Complaint—

20 We have no sporting clubs in Moore formerly cock fighting, Gander pulling,⁵⁰, Horse Racing, and card playing, were the principal Amuse-

⁴⁹ Phlogiston—the old hypothetical principle of inflammability regarded as a material substance.

⁵⁰ The following description of gander pulling is contained in an unsigned, undated, and fragmentary manuscript, addressed to "Gentle Audience," in the Thomas Henderson Letter-Book, 1810-1811:

"Another of our games which is more especially worthy of attention than the rest is that of gander pulling. This consists in hanging an old tough gander by the heels, rubbing his neck well with grease and soap, then riding under him with speed, seizing him by the neck as you pass, and endeavouring to pull his head off. The amusement consists in the frequent failures of the rider to lay hold on the long necked animal, and the danger he is in of being pulled from his horse, while he endeavours to pull off the poor animal's head. I cannot help recommending this as a most delightful amusement to all lovers of fun. It is one of the games which are assigned to Easter. The arrival of this period is for some weeks anticipated with rapture, by all bruisers either at fist or grog, all heavy bottomed well balanced riders, all women who want a holiday, and who have a curiosity to see the world, and particularly by all buxome young lasses, who wish to see the weight and prowess of their sweethearts tried in open field. In short all sporters, blackguards, mongrels and negroes take warning to collect their shillings and pence, that they may have wherewithal to buy whiskey, be generous to their companions, grow conspicuous by rattling their chink, or at least by showing that sort which is much of the colour and consistency of ground leaf tobacco. Then shall all overseers and enterprisers, have an opportunity to recount their exploits in beating up negro-quarters or a patrol night, in gouging a champion who was stout-hearted enough to attack them, or in shouting, quizzing, or chuckling at a gentleman traveller on a tobacco rolling. They shall then be able to prove their alertness in beating the earth with the body of a wrestler, by lifting & tossing him with a crotch lock or a cross buttock."

ments—The present religious impressions of the people has laid aside the two former as cruel and barbarous and contrary to benevolence and humanity the latter two are yet followed by a few Characters who apply to them as a source of profit rather than Amusements, but they are also falling into disuse—Driving for Deer is the only amusement at present followed—chasing the Fox formerly came within this description—but they appear of late to have made a truce with Reynard.

I have now gone through the enquiries you have thought proper to Submit to my attention—Several reasons already mentioned have contributed to the imperfection of the work—if the Editors of the Star

ROCKINGHAM COUNTY

By ALEXANDER SNEED¹

For the Star

Messrs Editors,

In compliance with your request of the 30.th of March 1810, I beg leave to submit the following description of the County of Rockingham.

Boundaries and extent;	}	Rockingham County is bounded on the North
Population &c		by the State of Virginia; on the East by
		Caswell County; on the South by Guilford County (of which formerly it was a part;) ²
		on the West by Stokes County, and is about 30 miles in

"When the day has arrived and the company assembled, the whiskey is diligently plied in half broken tumblers, gourds and teacups. The ardour of joy springs up, and soon is lighted in every face. The target is fixed and many a bullet winged with invisible and unerring speed evinces the skill of the marksman, and sends his name on a shout of triumph to the skies. At length the rumour is abroad that the business of the day is prepared, and the hour of trial arrived, when champions, ponies and wagerers are to hold themselves in readiness, while all spectators, gentlemen, simpletons and raggamuffins are warned to enjoy the dodging, the gobbling and the pulling of the great gander of the day. They flock in crowds to the appointed scene. On high you behold suspended by the heels from the flexible bough of some neighboring tree, or from some elastic pole, the grand object on which all eyes are fixed. A gander venerable for age, the sinews of whose neck hardened by years, are to contend in force with the sinews of many an arm that is the boast of its owner in the doughty field. In such a contest the chief hope of this prime emblem of all the geese and ganders on the plain above which he hangs, must be found in the armour of soap with which his limber neck is overlaid. On another side is raised to view the richly glittering hat which is to crown the head of him, who shall carry away the head of the father of goslings. The signal is given and the candidates appear in the lists with their proud and prancing ponies. Away they fly in successive career to the destined prize, the high object of their aspiring hopes, while the hearts of the multitude whose due bills are at stake, but especially the hearts of those fond damsels whose muscular and sinewy lovers are to vindicate their prowess, beat high with expectation. A sentinel is stationed to urge the lingering nag from the reeking victim. The rider rises forward in his might, to seize the squalling prize; the noble gander waves his easy neck, and laughs in triumph at the disappointed grasp. Another follows and is still succeeded till at length a resolute spirit determined on success lays hold with vigorous gripe, and lies sprawling on the ground. His successor sees his fate, but still more firm to his purpose hangs dangling in the air. The air is rent with peals of applause, but it remains for one of greater power of muscles and weight of flesh and bone, to accomplish the glorious victory; he is found at last, and clinging to his beast with a force which almost stops him in mid career, he bears off in triumph and with the inmost exultation of his mistresses' heart the"

¹ Alexander Snead was justice of the peace, a commissioner of Leaksbridge in 1797, and a representative of Rockingham County in the House of Commons in 1803, 1805 and 1806. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 784; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1797, ch. 66; Rockingham County Court Minutes, 1804-1808, in possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

² In 1785, all of Guilford County north of an east and west line "beginning at Haw river bridge, near James Martins" was erected into Rockingham County. The first county court was to be held at the home of Adam Tate. Commissioners appointed to run the line were: William Dent, John Hamilton, Charles Bruice, Samuel Henderson, Joshua Smith, and Abraham Philips. To select a site for and to erect a court house, prison, and stocks, the following were appointed: James Hunter, John Dabney, Thomas Henderson, John May, and Hugh Challis. *S. R.*, XXIV, 745-746. These

length from East to West, and between 19 and 20 miles in breadth from North to South; and contains agreeable to the late census 10,278. Inhabitants, which give an increase in the last 10 years of 2,001.—³

Face of the Country, air, soil, } The Country is rather broken than productions, water &c } level, tho' not mountaineous, with a Salubrious air, which renders it as healthy, perhaps, as any part of North Carolina—the atmosphere, however, is subject to sudden and violent transitions from heat to cold, and from cold to heat, so common in the middle and Southern States, owing chiefly to the shifting of the wind from one point to another, which are very frequent during autumn and the Winter months.

The lands on the Dan⁴ and Haw⁵ Rivers, and the Various Streams that fall into them, are interspersed with all the Variety of soil.—The bottom lands on Dan River, are mostly of a dark Rich mould, mixt with sand, and are well adapted to the culture of Indian corn, &c and are the most Valuable of any in the county; which upon an average may be estimated at about \$10 pr: acre. about the year 1750, Robert Jones⁶ (the great attorney) and Daniel Weldon,⁷ both of this State, men of great speculative genious, entered and surveyed all the lands on this river from the lower Saura Town⁸ to the upper, including the latter, in Stokes County, a distance of 40 miles taking the meanders of the River, which land they sold from about 17 to 25 dollars pr hundred acres, some of which could not now be got for a less sum pr acre.—The lands next in quallity to these, are the bottom and high lands on the Haw River, the Mayo and Smiths⁹ Rivers, and some of the large Creeks (to wit) Troublesome¹⁰ Hogans creek,¹¹ Wolf island,¹² Jacobs creek, Bever Island, and some others;—on which are a Variety of Soil, well adapted to the Culture of Tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, Rye, Oats, the Irish and sweet pittato, and most of the Vegetable productions, necessary for the use of man, and which are common in the Western part of the State; and may be estimated at about 5\$ pr acre.—The next and third quallity of land, Situate on the Small

commissioners displeased the people by selecting a county seat far from the centre of the county, and on January 1, 1787 the General Assembly directed that the public buildings be erected near the centre on the lands of Charles Mitchell on the east side of Big Rock House Creek. Samuel Henderson, John Reagan, Richard Marr, Peter O'Neal, and Thomas Massey were directed to have the buildings constructed, in lieu of the commissioners appointed in 1785. *S. R.*, XXIV, 798.

The county was named for Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782), under whose prime ministership, 1765-1766, the Stamp Act was repealed. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 783; *Dictionary of National Biography*, LX, 48-51.

³ The population in 1800 was 8,277 and in 1810, 10,316. *Ninth Census*, 1, 52-54.

⁴ The Dan River, a tributary of the Roanoke, flows across the northern part of the county.

⁵ Haw River or the upper part of the Cape Fear flows through the southeastern part of the county.

⁶ Robert Jones was attorney general of the colony, 1756-1766, and a representative of Northampton County in the House of Commons, 1754-1760, 1761, 1764-1765. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 333, 371-372.

⁷ Daniel Weldon was a commissioner for the State in extending the North Carolina-Virginia line in 1749; clerk of Granville County, 1754; and a director and trustee of the town of Halifax, 1759. *C. R.*, V, 320; *S. R.*, XXIV, 224, XXV, 399.

⁸ Lower Saura Town was on the Dan River in Rockingham County. *S. R.*, XXIII, 497.

⁹ Both are northern tributaries of the Dan.

¹⁰ An eastward-flowing tributary of Haw River in the southern part of the county.

¹¹ It rises in Rockingham and flows into the Dan in Caswell County.

¹² A tributary of the Dan.

Streams and Rivulets, is mostly of a light Soil, mixt with Stone and gravel, and much better adapted to the culture of Cotton and some Vegetable productions, than either of the above mentioned qualities; and may be worth about \$2—50 pr. acre.—The fourth & last quality of land is generally broken, poor, and Stoney, Situated on the dividing ridges between the differant water courses, the greater part of which is Scarcely fit for cultivation, and formerly contributed much to the benefit and convenience of the citizens, as an outlet for their live Stock, but of late years, as population increased, the range has been nearly eaten out; and is not at present, worth more than from 50 to 100 cents pr. acre.¹³

The timber, consists of a Variety of the Oak, some of which are found here in the greatest perfection, Black Walnut, Cherry, hickory, chesnut, poplar, (which make excellent Shingles) ash, Beach, Elm, Birch, Sycamore, Mulberry, Maple, Sweet gum, Locust (which make excellent garden posts) and some pine of an inferior quality; together with a Variety of under groth common in the Western part of the State.—Springs of excellent water abound in almost every part of the County, particularly on the head waters of the differant Streams that fall into the above mentioned Rivers—and Small and large Streams, Suitable for Mill Seats, and other purposes, are interspersed with profusion throughout the County.

When Settled, object of first Settlers, } This County was first Settled in remarkable occurences &c } and about the year 1750 by hunters, the proper pioniers of all new countries, as the county increased in permanent Settlers, those hunters, like the Ball of Empire, took their Western course, and soon gave way to a description of persons more enterprising and industrious, from whom the present Inhabitants have mostly decended.—There are no remarkable occurrences in the history of this County, prior to, or during the Revolutionary war, worthy of notice, except the Battle at Guilford Court House, which more properly belongs to a description of that County; it may not, however, be improper here to remark, that the Citizens generally were zealous in the cause of liberty, and much attached to the principles of the Revolution; many of whom Volunteered their Service and marched against the commony Enemy, when occasion required.—¹⁴

Rivers, Cataracts, } The Dan, which is the principal River in this Roads & Bridges } County, is a gentle Stream, confined by Banks so high as to prevent its often overflowing; it is about 100 yards wide generally, and navigable by Batteaux to near the Mountains in Stokes County.—The River, which was formerly well Stored with fish of Various kinds, meanders with many windings through the county in a North easterly direction until it intersects the Virginia line a little below the

¹³ The average value of land as assessed for the federal direct tax in 1815 was \$2.33 per acre. *Murphey Papers*, II, 165.

¹⁴ During the Revolution, the region was in Guilford County. The battle of Guilford Court House occurred on March 15, 1781. For Tory activity in Guilford, see *C. R.*, IX, 1241, X, 451, 727; *S.R.*, XII, 811-812, 832, 838-839, 877, XVII, 335, 444, 706, XXII, 923.

mouth of Cascade Creek—The Mayo and Smiths Rivers, are Shallow and rapid Streams, and empty themselves into the Dan from the North West, by mouths of 60 or 70 yards wide.—on both of these Rivers, near their mouths, and on the main Road leading from Salisbury and Salem, to Petersburg in Virginia are Mill Seats equal perhaps, to any in the State, and form the greatest Cataracts in the County, which are of a gentle decent at least a mile in length—nay it is thought by some, that Mills on the most improved plan, and on a large Scale, might be erected here with the greatest ease, and much to the advantage of the citizens generally.—The Haw River and Troublesome creek, are deep and muddy Streams, and narrow,—the bottom lands on these Waters, are said to be much the best for meadow of any in the County, but it is beleaved, there are others that would answer the purpose very well.—The only Merchant Mills in the County are erected on these waters; Two of which are the property of James Patrick Esquire: one is erected on a Small branch of Haw River, the other, which is more worthy of notice, Stands on the Site of the old Iron works on Troublesome Creek, a never failing Stream; and on the main Road leading from Salisbury to Danville in Virginia there being only one more in the County, which is owned by Peter Bysor at the high Rock ford on Haw River.—In Justice to the enterprising Spirit of these two Gentlemen, it may not be amiss here to remark, that Flour of the first quallity is manufactured here, which find a ready market at Petersburg and Fayetteville.—The County is intersected in every direction with convenient Roads, and some wooden Bridges are thrown across Haw River and Troublesome creek of tollerable workmanship.

Mines, Minerals, and) There are some Iron mines, particularly in the Medicinal Springs) neighbourhood of the Troublesome old Iron works, but they are disused at present:—The works (which were erected about the year 1770, and perhaps the first in the State) having gone to ruin.—There is likewise, specimens of the Load Stone found near the confluence of the Dan and Smiths Rivers, which appear to possess in an eminent degree, all the Virtues of the real magnet; and it is beleaved, that there are Various other kinds of ore hid in the Bowels of the Earth, there being in different parts of the County, Several Spare water Springs impregnated with different kinds of metal; those near Lenox Castle, on the Waters of Hogans creek, are in the greatest repute, and were formerly the resort of the Wealthy citizens from the Eastern part of the State.—

Staple Commodities } Tobacco, Cotton, Beaf, pork, flour, flax seed, wheat, Markets, produce &c } Bees wax, and some hemp, form the Staple commodities of this county, the principal of which is Tobacco: the most of which are carried to Petersburg and Richmond in Virginia, except wheat and flax seed, which articles will better bear the carriage to Fayetteville, where they meet with a ready market in exchange for Salt, much to the profit, and domestic convenience of the citizens generally:—The quantity of produce thus exported, is indeed very considerable, but there is no

data by which an estimate of its Value can be formed with any degree of accuracy.—Rockingham, abounds with fruits of Various kinds, particularly apples and Peaches, from which large quantities of cyder and Brandy is made yearly for home consumption, and some for market.—

General and } Perhaps there is no part of the State where the people
Individual wealth } are nearer upon a meduim, than in this county; this
may be easily accounted for, when it is recollectcd that the price of land,
has always been low in comparison with lands of an equal quallity in
the Eastern parts of the State.* The most of our Farmers and planters,

*It is believed that this remark will apply with equal force to most of the Counties in the western parts of the state

live on lands of their own which give them an air of Independence, rarely to be met with in Countries where the labouring part of the community are Vassals and dependants on the Rich.—it is not, however, to be infered from this, that there are no men of wealth in the County, on the contrary, there are many, some of which are of respectable Standing in Society.—¹⁵

Towns and General } Leaksville¹⁶ and Wentworth¹⁷ are the only Towns
Stile of Building } in the County, and they at present Scarcely deserve
the name.—Leaksville, Stands on a high bluff on the North Side of Dan
River, near its confluence with Smiths River, and within one mile of the
above mentioned Mill Seat the latter.—This is a most delightful Spot,
and the best situated for trade, perhaps, of any in the County, as it com-
mands a very extensive back Country, the produce of which (in conse-
quence of a navigation free of obstructions up and down the River)
would inevitably center here.—It was established by an act of assembly
passed some years ago, but in consequence of a failure to complete the
navigation of the Roanoke¹⁸ (on which contingence its fate depends) it

¹⁵ In 1790, the largest slaveholders in Rockingham County were John Price, 105 slaves; Alexander Martin, 47; and Benjamin Jones Iron Works, 35. Of a total of 844 heads of families, 203 owned slaves as follows: 129, less than 5 each; 46, from 5 to 10; 21, from 10 to 20; and 7, 20 or more. *S. R.*, XXVI, 986-1003. In 1810, the total population of 10,316 included 2,114 slaves. The growth of tobacco production gradually increased the number of slaves to 6,318 in a total population of 16,746 in 1860. *Ninth Census*, I, 52-54.

¹⁶ In 1797, the General Assembly appointed Robert Coleman, Nathaniel Seals, Alexander Sned, Terry Hughes, and John Leake commissioners to build and improve the town of Leaksville in accordance with the plan drawn up by Abraham Phillips. John Leake had already laid off and sold 45 lots, and some houses had been erected. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1797, ch. 68.

¹⁷ On account of the fact that there was no town or public land at the court house for the accom-
modation of the persons who attended court, the General Assembly of 1796 authorized Pleasant
Henderson, John May, Abraham Phillips, Drewry Smith, Samuel West, Samuel K. Jennings, and
James Hunter to purchase not less than 40 acres, including the site of the court house, from Robert
Galloway and company, or others, for a town by the name of Wentworth. If they did not buy
from Galloway, they were to purchase 100 acres within 3 miles of the centre of the county and
sell the old courthouse and prison. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1796, ch. 56. This arrangement
was represented as injurious to the county and against the wishes of the majority of citizens. The
General Assembly of 1797 suspended its operation until after the meeting of the next legislature.
Laws of North Carolina, 1797, ch. 76. Robert Galloway agreed to give 100 acres, including the
site of the existing court house, and the General Assembly of 1798 appointed William Bethell, Jo-
seph Clark, James Patricke, Nathaniel Scales, and Joshua Smith as trustees and directors to receive
the deed and to lay off and sell at auction for the benefit of the county as many one-acre lots as
they should agree upon. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1798, ch. 76.

¹⁸ The Roanoke Navigation Company was chartered in 1812, but little improvement in the nav-
igation of the river was made for a number of years. A canal around the falls of the river was
necessary to make the river a commercial outlet for the rich agricultural section above the falls. A
report of the Roanoke Navigation Company in 1834 states that 3,945 hogsheads of tobacco were
transported through the canal during the preceding year. Legislative Papers, 1834; C. C. Weaver,
"Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in
Historical and Political Science*, Series XXI, Nos. 3-4.

has as yet made but a small progress; We cannot, however, in Justice to its founder (John Leak Esq.¹⁹ whose zeal for the public welfare far exceeded his ability) omit to premise, that at some future period, when public Spirit and patriotism Shall have assumed their proper Stations, this Town will rise to that degree and State of usefulness, which nature, and its local situation have seemed to assign to it.—Wentworth, which is the County Town, where our Courts of Justice are held, is remarkable for nothing, except its high and healthy Situation it stands about three miles South of the River Dan, in a poor and broken part of the county, and near its Center; we have here a tollerable wooden Court House, painted, and a common Goal built of wood and Stone, the Rooms of which are dark and miserable beyond description; there are likewise some public Houses for the accomodation of Strangers, and the citizens generally tho' Scarcely enough for so populous a County.—The buildings in this county, are Generally of wood, some Framed but the greater part of hewn logs, covered with Shingles with Brick and Stone Chimneys, which render them more warm and comfortable than elegant.—

State and progress of agriculture, } Although, agriculture in its present improvements, Breeds of useful } State, is much inferior to what might Domestic animals &c } be expected in a Country embracing such a variety of soil, and a climate favourable to the production of every necessary of life, yet it must be acknowledged, that considerable progress have been made within a few years past The culture of Tobacco and Indian Corn (so destructive to our best lands) which have long been pursued with avidity by most of the planters, has of late years, in some degree given way to a rotation of crops, consisting of Indian corn, oats and wheat;—wheat, for exportation, might be raised in the greatest abundance, if proper encouragement was given by the Building of Mills Suitable for manufacturing it into flour, and a hope is entertained, that e'er long, Some of our Wealthy and enterprising Citizens, will see the necessity, or at least find it to their interest, to erect Mills on Some of the most eligible Seats for the purposes above mentioned;—It will be seen, by what has already been said that great improvements have been made in agriculture;—and it is no less a fact, that considerable improvements have also been made, in our domestic manufactures; particularly in the following articles, to wit, Saddles, Hats, Boots Shoes, Cabenet ware, Carpenter and House Joiners, Millwrights, Rifle and Smothe bore guns, the two latter of which are executed in the neatest and best manner by Capt. Joshua Farrington, equal, if not Superior to any imported, nor must it be forgotten, that the Ladies, have also made as great a progress in their Household manufactures, which has created in some degree a Spirit of emulation, to vie with each other, who shall be foremost, nor is it uncommon, to see both Gentlemen and Ladies of the first respectability, in all public places of resort, dressed in a full suit of homespun, which would do honor to the citi-

¹⁹ John Leak represented Rockingham County in the House of Commons, 1791. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 783.

zens of any Country.—The Breed of Horses have much improved, but Cattle, Sheep and Hogs have somewhat degenerated, owing chiefly to the range being eaten out.—

Distilleries and } agreeably to the return of the assistant Mar-
Labour saving Machines} shal, there are in this County 126.²⁰ Stills in
use, from which Vast quantities of whiskey and Brandy is made yearly,
part of which is exported to the adjoining States, which very much increase
the wealth of those who have them in use.—Cotton gins are common
throughout the county. the number not known, but fully Sufficient to
clean all the cotton for market and home consumption.—

Tan yards} Several Tan yards have been erected in this County, which
would be of the greatest utility, were it not for the prevailing practice of
driving our Beef to market;

Commerce and trade } here, as in most parts of the back Country, Com-
and how carried on } mmerce and trade is engrossed by a few enterprising
individuals, who generally keep the People in debt to them; too many of
our Farmers and planters, owe the proceeds of their crop to the Merchant
before it is put into the ground, which is the principal cause of the Scarcity
of cash so often felt, and complained of in this part of the State.—
Some of our planters Role their tobacco,²¹ but the greater part of them
make use of Waggon for the conveyance of their Surplus produce to
market.—

Fisheries and } Some Shad, and a Variety of fresh water fish are caught here,
game &c } tho' Scarcely enough for neighbourhood consumption.—
The Sturgeon is an inhabitant of the Dan, and is sometimes caught from 7
to 10 feet long.—The wild game, which about 40 years ago were found here
in the greatest plenty, have for several years been on the decline; the
Deer, tho' few are hunted by men and hounds with such eagerness and
avidity that it is very rare to see one—Fur of various kinds is Still
caught to a considerable amount, the most of which is manufactured into
Hats for home consumption.

State of Society, and } The present State of Society presages the most
progress of civilization} flattering consequences, and no people in the
State, perhaps, have made a greater progress in civilization in the last
20 years, than the Citizens of Rockingham; they are in general hospitable
to Strangers, and appear to affect what may be called a Snug, rather
than a Splendid way of living.—

²⁰ The total value of manufactures in the county was reported in 1811 as \$31,100 per year, including 1,000 tanned hides valued at \$7,200; 126 distilleries producing 30,900 gallons worth \$15,-400; and 420 looms making 85,000 yards of cloth valued at \$16,500. "Report of Manufactures Within the State of North Carolina," by Beverly Daniels, Marshal for the District of North Carolina, January 1, 1811, in *The Star*, February 21, 1811. Daniel's assistant in Rockingham was Mark Harden. There is evidently one or more mistakes in these figures.

²¹ An early method of transporting tobacco to market. The hogshead was rolled over the ground by a horse hitched between two shafts attached to an axle inserted through the centre of the hogshead.

Learned professional men, } We have som Phisicians and at-
men of talents, & progress of literature } tornies,²² whose practice and moral
Character entitle them to the patronage of an enlightened public, and
men of the first natural abilities, both now and heretofore, have often been
found in the Humble Walks of life. There have been no schools estab-
lished for the education of youth, more than for a common English
education of course, we have but few men of Science or a classical edu-
cation; And altho' we cannot boast of the progress of Literature, the com-
parative difference in the respect, between the present time and 25 years
ago, is almost beyond conception.

Religion &c. } There is but one Framed Meeting House in the County,
and that was built by mutual subscription, and therefore open to all de-
nominations; there are a great many (the number not known) both Bapt-
ist and Methodists Houses of Worship built in the most cheapest manner
of hewn Logs &c which are generally large and convenient; Those two
professions are the prevailing ones in the County, Supposed to be nearly
equal in number of communicants members &c. there are but few Pres-
byterians compared with the number of the above named Societies, and
Still fewer of Universalists, but there are some, and perhaps more than is
generally beleaved.

Diseases &c } Dysentaries, and nervous fevers &c are the most prevalent
diseases in the Summer & fall Season; Rheumatisms pluresies and other
inflammatory complaints are most common in the Winter and Spring Sea-
son; Intermittant fevers, agues &c; which were formerly a sore Scourge
to the Inhabitants of Dan River, have of late years intirely disappeared.—
Amusements &c } Dancing and horse Racing, are the only amusements
practised by the citizens of this county, and these, have in some degree
fallen off within a few years past.—I forbear to mention that vile and
abominable practice of card playing &c which is so prevalent at our
County Court Houses, Taverns &c and many other nefarious practices to
delude the young and unwary; as they cannot be too Severly reprehended
by every honest and patriotic Citizen.—

The foregoing description, has been thrown together under circumstan-
ces not the most favorable; nay I am fully sensible of its defects in point of
Stile, but the Substance matter as far as it goes* therein contained; I be-

*The information given under some of the foregoing heads is not so full and complete as could have been wished, owing to the failure of Some, who were applied to, to furnish facts necessary to complete the work, which is very much regretted by the writer.—The different heads omitted, have been fully attended to, but do not apply to this County, and therefore were thought not necessary to be inserted.

A. Sneed

leave, is Substantially correct.

Alex: Sneed

— — — The first Rockingham graduate of the University was John Motley Morehead, class of 1817. In 1823, Theophilus Lacy, James T. Morehead, John May, Rice Garland, and Thomas Settle were resident practicing attorneys. The resident physicians were Edward T. Broadnax, George W. Jones, and John Murry. K. P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 788: *The North Carolina Register*, 1823, 48, 57.

STOKES AND SURRY COUNTIES

By []¹

Surry & Stokes

The County of Surry was erected in A D 1770,² so called after the County of Surry in England, on the Thames just above London. In this County of England was raised and educated William Tryon Esquire Governor of his then Majesties province of North Carolina; & who presided as such in the State when our County of Surry was erected. It was so called in honor of His Excellency Governor Tryon. Surry County of this State in 1770 was inhabited by a few hunters, & people of an iterant disposition. They were generally strangers to civilized life at that time except the few Moravians who were then among them.

In A D 1777 Surry County was divided by Legislative act and the western part thereof was erected into a new County by the name of Wilkes,³ so called after John Wilkes a member of the British Parliament from, Aylesbury.⁴

During the war nothing occurred in these Counties of applause. They were nearly equally divided between the whig and tory parties as they were then denominated.⁵ That some officers of the whig party were notorious for their plundering & marauding conduct. No principle of moral duty seemed to have existance among these people at that time—The strongest law prevailed and made the rule of right.

In A D 1789 Surry County was again divided by Legislative act, and the eastern part thereof erected into a new County by the name of Stokes;⁶ This County was so called after a member of the then Legislature for the purpose of obtaining a small influence to effect the passage of the bill to make the division.⁷

¹ The sketch is unsigned and it has not been possible to ascertain the name of the author.

² The General Assembly in 1770 passed an act, effective, April 1, 1771, creating Surry County from Rowan by a line "beginning at a Point Forty Two Miles North of Earl Granville's Line on Guilford County Line; thence running North to the Virginia Line; thence Westwardly along the Mountains to the Ridge that divides the Waters of Yadkin and the Catawba Rivers; thence along the said Ridge to the North West Corner of Rowan County; then East along Rowan county Line to the Beginning." The first court was to be held at Gideon Wright's. Griffith Rutherford, John Dunn, Matthew Locke, Martin Armstrong, and Anthony Hampton were appointed commissioners to select a site for and to erect a court house, prison, and stocks. *S. R.*, XXIII, 844-846. Four years later a new board of commissioners was appointed to carry out the act of 1770 because some of the members of the old board had removed and a majority of the others resided outside of the county. To complete the buildings, the General Assembly appointed Richard Good, Gray Bynum, Samuel Phillips, and Phillip Howard. *S. R.*, XXIII, 973.

³ *S. R.*, XXIV, 142-144, 178.

⁴ Wilkes became something of a popular hero because of his violent attacks on the Tory government and by his arrest and imprisonment, which was declared illegal by the court. T. F. Tout, *An Advanced History of Great Britain*, 574.

⁵ *C. R.*, IX, 1160, 1241, X, 146, 441; *S. R.*, XI, xvii, 372, XIV, 667, 669, 675-676, 692, 698-699, 782, 786, XV, v, 123-125, XXII, v, 730-731, 755.

⁶ The General Assembly in 1789 authorized the equal division of Surry County by a line running from a point on the Virginia line equidistant from Wilkes and Rockingham counties southward to the Rowan line. The territory east of this line was to be Stokes County. The first court was to be held at the home of Gray Bynum. David Humphries, Constant Ladd, and Joseph Cloud were appointed to run the line. William Terrel, Lewis Edward Lovell, Micajah Oglesby, and Henry Speir were appointed commissioners to select the site for and to erect the public buildings for Surry; and Charles McAnnelly, Gray Bynum, Seth Coffin, Christain Lash, James Gaines, Jacob Bloom, and Samuel Waggoner, those for Stokes. *S. R.*, XXV, 13-15.

⁷ Col. John Stokes was a soldier of the Revolution. He resigned as judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity for Morgan District upon taking his seat in the House of Commons in 1789 as a representative of Rowan County. He was appointed by Washington as District Judge of the United States for North Carolina. He died in 1790. J. H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, II, 403-404; *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 790, 807; *S. R.*, XXI, 197, 200.

The County of Surry as it now stands include a large tract of land far removed from market. This County has much iron ore, from which larger profits may be raised, if their works were on more extensive plans. They have no schools of note, bridges & other public buildings they are behind some of their neighbours. This County contains a large settlement of Quakers whose habits & good morals are generally known. The Yadkin River passes through the middle of this County & produces large bodies of fertile lands.

This County contains that famous & well known Mountain called the Pilot Mountain.⁸ This Mountain is so well known in the histories & geographies of America that a description here is useless. It is certainly one of the greatest curiosities in nature. That in a Country comparatively level a Mountain is flung up by some extraordinary effort of nature to an height of 800 feet. Why this should be the case in such an extraordinary manner as in the Pilot, and 50 miles from the Appelachie⁹ has been a subject of much learning & controversy in the University of Leyden¹⁰ and other Colleges of Europe. This Mountain was so called by the Indians as being a pilot to their war & hunting paths.

In the County of Stokes reside a people called Moravians¹¹ well known in this & other Countries for their habits of industry & usefulness. They have a learned Clergy who teach the great truths of our holy religion with ability & faithfulness; & the people seem to be profited by their precepts and example. The rest of the society are industrious & frugal. They have in several of the Moravian Towns schools erected, which are well calculated for the instruction of youth: one in Salem¹² that promises

⁸ Jeremiah Battle visited Mount Ararat or Pilot Mountain in 1815 and described it in a two-column article published in *The Star* of September 29, 1815. This natural wonder was described in Morse's *Universal Geography*, six editions of which appeared under various names from 1789 to 1812, and attracted the interest of readers and travelers. The following is the description as it appears on page 506 of the seventh edition, published in 1819:

"The Ararat, or Pilot mountain, about 16 miles northwest of Salem, draws the attention of every curious traveller in this part of the state. It is discernable at the distance of 60 or 70 miles, overlooking the country below. It was anciently called the Pilot, by the Indians, as it served them for a beacon to conduct their routes in the northern and southern wars. On approaching it, a grand display of nature's workmanship, in a rude dress, is exhibited. From its broad base, the mountain rises in easy ascent, like a pyramid, near a mile high, to where it is not more than the area of an acre broad: when, on a sudden, a vast stupendous rock, having the appearance of a large castle, with its battlements, erects its perpendicular height to upwards of 300 feet, and terminates in a flat, which is generally as level as a floor. To ascend this precipice, there is only one way, which, through cavities and fissures of the rock, is with some difficulty and danger effected. When on the summit, the eye is entertained with a vast delightful prospect of the Apalachian mountains, on the north, and a widely extended level country blow, on the south; while the streams of the Yadkin and Dan, on the right and left hand, are discovered at several distant places, winding through the fertile low grounds, their way towards the ocean."

⁹ Reference is to the Blue Ridge Mountains of the Appalachian system.

¹⁰ In Leyden, Holland.

¹¹ The large tract of land called Wachovia, located in 1753 by Bishop Spangenburg, purchased from Lord Granville by the Moravians, and settled at Salem, Bethania, and Bethabara, was established as the distinct parish of Dobbs in Rowan County in 1755. When Surry County was cut off from Rowan in 1770, a portion of Wachovia or Dobbs Parish was left in Rowan. In 1773, the General Assembly granted the request of the Dobbs vestry, made in 1771, that all of Wachovia be placed in Surry and maintained as a distinct parish. *C. R.*, IX, 47-48; *S. R.*, XXIII, 438, 906-907; J. H. Clewell, *History of Wachovia in North Carolina*.

¹² Salem Female Academy, established in 1802, has been in continuous existence since that date. J. H. Clewell, *op. cit.*, ch. 18; Adelaide L. Fries, *Historical Sketches of Salem Female Academy*.

In 1809, there was a seminary near Germanton, Stokes County which was incorporated as Germanton Academy, with Joseph Winston, John Martin, Andrew Bowman, Thomas Armstrong, Isaac Dalton, George Houser, Joseph Wilson, and Jacob Salmons as trustees. They were authorized to raise by lottery a maximum of £500 to purchase land and books. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1809, ch. 80.

much benefit to the Country and an advantage to that section of Country in particular.—

The County of Stokes has a character & that is well known to be respectable. This County contains much property¹³ & men of virtue.¹⁴

Iron ore is also found here, and might be managed to a greater profit.

The Dan River runs through this County and spreads wide low grounds of fertile lands. The Town fork Creek¹⁵ is also productive of large bodies of low & high land of the best quality.

This County contains the Saura Town Mountains, so called from a nation or settlement of Indians who once inhabited them. These Mountains are about 600 feet high and about 60 miles from the Blue Ridge & entirely detached from them.

WAYNE COUNTY.

By J. SLOCUMB¹

Gentlemen

Through the Solicitations of Nicholson Washington² Esqr. of Waynesborough and in pursuance of your request made through him under date of the 30th of March last, I have with great diffidence, and for the first time taken up my pen to ape the Historian, and give you a descriptive account of the County of *Wayne*,³ Tho I am perfectly aware of my inability to give you an account sufficiently comprehensive to afford the satisfaction sought for, yet holding it to be my indispenable duty to Contribute as much as in my power to the information and good of My Country. and to the gratification of my Fellow Citizens I proceed to give you such information as I am possessed of; in that plain way alone in which I am Capable. you can arrange it as best suits you; or otherwise dispose of it as you think proper

The County is about 36 miles long. and 28. miles wide and is generally verry level, The Soil on the River Neuse is fertile and inclined to be

¹³ In 1815, the lands of Stokes were assessed at \$899,669 and the slaves at \$502,500; the lands of Surry at \$841,226 and the slaves at \$335,243. Beverly Daniels' report in 1811 of the manufactures in North Carolina valued those of Surry at \$128,150, including 5 bloomeries producing iron articles annually worth \$34,500; 1,530 tanned hides worth \$2,200; 117 distilleries making 41,000 gallons valued at \$20,000; 1 gunpowder mill producing 200 pounds at \$150; 904 looms making 142,-000 yards of cloth worth \$71,000; and 8 cotton gins with 255 saws. The manufactures of Stokes were valued at \$46,000, including 2,750 tanned hides at \$7,000; 98 distilleries making 20,000 gallons worth \$10,000; 1 paper mill at Salem; 600 looms producing 68,000 yards of cloth worth \$28,-000; and 2 cotton gins with 40 saws. *The Star*, February 21, 1811; *Murphy Papers*, II, 165-166.

¹⁴ The resident attorneys in 1823 in Stokes were Augustine H. Shepherd, Emanuel Shober, and Archibald R. Ruffin; in Surry, Solomon Graves. Resident physicians in Stokes were Andrew Bowman, Frederick Shewman, Thomas Lacy, Robert W. Mosley, David Keel, George Folger, and Jeremy Parkhurst; in Surry, George Kimbrough, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Williams, and Hamilton. *The North Carolina Register*, 1823, 48, 58.

¹⁵ A southern tributary of the Dan.

¹ A trustee of Waynesborough Academy in 1810. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1810, ch. 68.

² This was perhaps the Nicholas Washington who was commissioner of the town of Waynesborough in 1811. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1811, ch. 73.

³ Wayne County was formed from the western part of Dobbs in 1779 by a north and south line through the centre of the county. William Caswell, Charles Markland, William McKinnie, Sr., Ethelred Ruffin and Benjamin Cobb were appointed to run the dividing line. The first court of Wayne was to be held at the home of Josiah Sasser. Robert Sims, Thomas Gray, Andrew Bass, Ethelred Ruffin, and William Alford were directed to contract for the erection of a court house, prison and stocks, at such place as they should agree upon near or at the centre of the county. The county was named for General Anthony Wayne of the Revolution. *S. R.*, XXIV, 290-292; *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 845.

Black, as is also the land on little river⁴ a Branch of Neuse, There is some Excelent Swamp & Creek Land; That on Buck Swamp and Fallin Creek⁵ is I believe the best Corn land in the County. The growth on the river and Creek land is generally, Red and White Oak, Black & White Hickory. Water Oak, Poplar, Ashe, Sweet Gum, Maple and Elm, interspersed with short leaved pine, The Swamps and low Grounds abounds with Black Gum & Cypress, The Black Gum is a large tall tree; But like the fir tree of New England is neither fit for Timber or fewel. The large natural growth of the plaines is almost universally pitch pine

Indian Corn, wheat, Rye, Oats, Peas, Sweet petatoes, Cotton & flax all grow well in this County, Indian Corn, peas & Sweet petatoes particularly are raised in abundance

The river Land is worth from 6. to 10 Dollars p. Acre the Creek & Swamp Land from 4 to 6. The value of the common or poor Land depends on its & Conveniences the price varies from 25 Cents to 3 Dollars⁶—There is perhaps no County in the State Better watered or that affords more valuable Mills & Mill Seats

The first settlements made here by white people was in the year 1738. It is obvious that their object was to improve the land The settlements progressed slowly until about the year 1745 to 50. they then began to increase rapidly, there is now about 1100. Voters in the County, & perhaps 6000 Souls⁷

Neuse and little Rivers runs through this County; There is no Lakes, Bays, Harbours, Canals, Mountains, Cataracts, Islands Mines or Curiosities

There is a Mineral Spring at the Seat of the late Co^l. Joseph Green⁸ the water is strongly impregnated with Coperas, The dirt taken from the Banks is a tollerable substitute for that article in dyeing

There is some large Swamps or Marshes which affords excelent range for Cattle

There is a Convenient number of Roads which requires but little Labour to Keep in good order tho they are verry much neglected

There are three Bridges across little River, Sassers, Crawfords & Raifords, Sassers Bridge is on the main road leading from New Bern to Raleigh

Pork is the Staple Commodity raised in abundance and carried to the New-bern Market, Down Neuse in Boats & Scows from 4 to 12 Tons Burthen, There is however a verry Considerable quantity of Cotton, Flour, Lumber & Naval Stores raised here and Carried to the same Market

⁴ A northern tributary of the Neuse.

⁵ A northern tributary of the Neuse near Kinston.

⁶ In 1815 the Wayne County land was assessed for the federal direct tax at an average of \$3.52 per acre; and for the state tax of the same year, \$8.10. *Murphrey Papers*, II, 165-167.

⁷ The total population of Wayne County in 1810 was 8,687, of which number 5,820 were whites. *Ninth Census*, I, 52-54.

⁸ Joseph Green was a director of the town of Waynesborough in 1787. In 1790, he was the largest slaveowner in the county. He owned 70 slaves. *S. R.*, XXIV, 875-876, XXVI, 1219.

There is perhaps But few Counties in the State more Wealthy in proportion to the number of Inhabitants⁹

Waynesborough¹⁰ a small Town on the north Bank of neuse oposite West Point, Established by Act of Assembly in the year 1786 on the lands of Doctor Andrew Bass, it has improved slowly there is not at this day more than 5 or 6 dwelling Houses a Court House and Gaol, all of wood & Single Story except the Court the House, The Houses generally throughout the County is of wood & Single Story There are However some Handsome two Story Houses and the taste for Building seems to improve

Agriculture has arrive to a tollerable degree of perfection and is still progressing

The useful domestic animals are Horses, Mules, Horned Cattle Sheep (of the common breed) and Hogs.

There is verry little game to be found here, a few of the common or red deer, some foxes, & Wild Turkeys, and Ducks of several Kinds to be found in the rivers and Creeks during the Winter

There are 4 or 5 Whiskey Distileries, some of which promise to be profitable to the owners and a great number of Brandy distileries There is a number of Cotton Gins with from 20 to 40 Saws which will Clean from 500 to 1000 Wt. of seed Cotton in the day Some of them worked with Horses others with Water¹¹

There is two or three Spining Machines with 30 or 40 Spindles each but from the difficulty of abandoning old & Established habits they are not verry much used

There is a great number of Shad Fisheries on little river & neuse at which white shad & some Rocks are caught

The State of Society is in many respects really deplorable owing to the predominiance of that Bane of all Cocities party Spirit Perhaps to Justify this position it may not be improper to mention a circumstance which is inevitably one among the many Melancholy effects of partyism. In November 1807, the Clerks office of the County Court became vacant by the death of the then Clerk, The Gen^rl Assembly was then in Session, The representatives from this County were informed of the death of the Clerk,

⁹ In 1815 the total slave and land property in Wayne was assessed for the federal direct tax at \$1,746,851. The white per capita wealth in land and slaves in Wayne was somewhat above the average for the State, though less than half that of Halifax County. In 1810, there were 2,756 slaves in a total population of 8,687. With the growth of cotton culture the slaves increased to 5,451 in a total population of 14,905 in 1860. In 1790, the total slave population was only 1,557 in a total of 6,133, and but 255 of the 805 heads of families owned slaves. Of these, 148 owned less than 5; 55, from 5 to 10; 37, from 10 to 20; and 15, 20 or more. *Ninth Census*, I, 52-54; *S. R.*, XXVI, 1204-1221; *Murphy Papers*, II, 165-167.

¹⁰ On January 6, 1787, the General Assembly directed William McKinnie, Sr., Burwell Moring, William Whitfield, Joseph Green, William Whitfield, Jr., David Jernegan, Jr., Richard Bass, William McKinnie, Jr., and William Fellows to lay off, erect, and govern the town of Waynesborough on 75 acres of land belonging to Andrew Bass, where the court house was located. When sixty or more half-acre lots had been laid off and numbered, they were to be drawn by the subscribers by lot at £3-5s each, £3 of which was to be paid to Bass. *S. R.*, XXIV, 875-876. In 1811, Cullen Blackman, Isaac Handby, John Davis, Joseph Edwards, Nicholas Washington, and Henry Brownrigg were appointed as commissioners to govern the town. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1811, ch. 73. The town of Waynesborough disappeared many years ago. Goldsboro is now the county seat of Wayne.

¹¹ In 1811, the value of Wayne manufactures was reported at \$42,800, including 4,500 tanned hides at \$2,000; 135 distilleries making 30,400 gallons worth \$12,100; and 855 looms producing 134,000 yards of cloth valued at \$18,700. *The Star*, February 21, 1811.

nine new Justices were then appointed for the County (Tho there was then I believe 35) who were expected to vote in the ensuing Election for Clerk and who it was well understood would all vote in the same Gang (for it need not be told that we are divided into two Gangs) sometime previous to the siting of the Court a Question arose among the people particularly among the Justices what Business should be done first when the Court met, Those who had then the ascendency in Court insisted that it was indispensably necessary to proceed in the first place to the appointment of a Clerk, The Gang to whom this Host of new Justices were attached urged their right of being first qualified to the end that they might vote in the Election, They being of a pacific disposition and being apprehensive that some disorder and Confusion might take place between the parties (which ought not to Creep into a Court of Justice) unless timely precaution was used, They therefore assembled in solemn silence at the Court House about 15 minutes after midnight precedeing the siting of the Court for the purpose of qualifying the new Justices, when one of the then acting Justices began to administer the oath required by Law. The Gang in oposition suspecting some illicit design was on the Watch; they immediately Collected in the Court House, The parties then together might easily have been mistaken for a Mob, The lights were soon extinguished, and some other Business done not strikeingly Charactiristic of a Court of Judicature. They However soon dispersed without effecting the object for which they assembled; at the usual hour of the day Court was opened in the ordinary way and a Clerk appointed without opposition, Court was then adjourned until 10 oClock the next day, it seemed however there was two Courts & they must have two Clerks, accordingly a party of Justices went into the Court House had Court again Called qualified the new Justices and appointed another Clerk, a Suit is now pending Between the two Clerks for the appointment—Perhaps it may be thought improper when speaking of the State of Society to take into view any thing of a publick nature, nor would I do so but I perceive the same Spirit prevails in a greater or lesser degree in private as well as publick affairs; Creates lasting and deep rooted animosities and tends very much to sour Society

There is a number of common English Schools to which almost every person occasionally send their Children, we have no Academies¹² or publick Libraries, we have no Societies for intelectual improvement for encouraging the arts & agriculture or for purposes of Humanity which may be verry fairly attributed to the great discord that prevails amongst the people

There is Six Quaker meeting Houses and between 7. & 8. Hundred

¹² In 1794, Wayne Academy was in operation on the north side of Neuse River, 3 miles below Joseph Green's. Subjects taught were Latin, Greek, geography, moral and natural philosophy, logic, and rhetoric. Tuition was \$14 annually and board \$30. C. L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840. A Documentary History*, 634.

In 1810, Waynesborough Academy was incorporated with John Davis, Joseph Edwards, Isaac Handley, Uriah Bass, Jesse Slocumb, Robert Collier, Joseph Everitt, John McKinney, Asa Jernigan, Sampson Lane, Joseph Copender, Ephraim Daniel, James Bradberry, William Exum, and John Hooks as trustees. *Laws of North Carolina, 1810*, ch. 68.

Quakers including Children Brought up in that line, there is two Methodist meeting Houses besides several private Houses at which they hold meetings

There is Six Baptist meeting Houses

In August 1795. great damage was done by a Storm of Wind and rain the Crops of Corn, fences, Mills & Bridges was verry much injured in Consequence of which Corn sold the next Summer from 100 to 125. Cents P. Bushel every other Kind of grain proportionably high

The most Common amusements is Horse raceing. Dancing and Card playing

Nothing verry remarkable occured during the revolution the British under the command of Cornwallis marched through the County and with the aid of the Tories (of which this County afforded no inconsiderable share)¹³ done some mischief by plundering. and destroying Stock, I must however do the County the Justice and myself the pleasure to say that it afforded some Brave and worthy Patriots and at a time too when the word Patriotism only meant love of Country not of party

A circumstance happened in the summer of 1805 which may not be uninteresting to some. A respectable Gentleman of the name of Jernegan died, one of his negroes was suspected of having poisoned him, she was apprehended and confined, a Special Court was convened, she was tried, found Guilty and Executed, In the Course of her trial a number of others was implicated, all of whom were arrested and tried the Court Continued to sit for 15. days the people became alarmed to find so many implicated and to find that so many attempts had been made to take the lives of the innocent by poison, some were of opinion that a Combination was formed by the negroes to destroy the whole of the white people Begining with the most Conspicuous Characters first; In the course of the trials and examinations a number of Snake & Scorpion heads was found in possession of negroes and great quantity of Roots which done great violence to the immagination of the Credulous, and afflicted them with immaginary pains.—The result was that Four of the negroes were Executed several Banished and a great number severely punished¹⁴

¹³ *S. R.*, XXII, 568-569.

¹⁴ A Waynesborough correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* wrote two letters dated July 15 and July 30, describing this exciting incident.

"I take the liberty, from a sense of the danger which the white people of this State are in, to communicate to you one of the most shocking plots by the Blacks imaginable."

"We have been engaged in this county in the trying of Negroes for poisoning the Whites, ever since Monday last. One suffered death at the stake (was burnt alive) on Saturday last, for poisoning her master, mistress, and two others; two more are under sentence of death, and are to be hanged on Wednesday next. Thirteen are imprisoned under guard, a part of whom, from the evidence, I expect will suffer death, and we are daily making new discoveries. Some have been brought from Sampson, others from Johnston, so that the plot appears to have been a general one. It is said by some of the prisoners, that the head men are to be poisoned first, and the rest are to be subdued; and after detaining a sufficient number in slavery, the balance, if refractory, are to be put to death."

"We proceed this morning with the trials, and God only knows what the event will be. Six or eight Light Horsemen are continually on duty to bring up charged negroes, besides a strong guard of Infantry about the prisoners. What raised the first suspicion in this business, was the death of one or two of our responsible men." *Raleigh Register*, July 22, 1805.

The second letter was as follows: "I sit down to give you an account of the negro business from the date of my last.

"One other negro was found guilty and hanged, with the two I wrote you were to be hung the Wednesday following the date of my last. One other found guilty, was pilloried, whipped, nailed, and his ears cut off, on the same day. Some others, who were guilty in a less degree, were whipped

The prevailing diseases is Bilous—In the Cure Evacuants is verry generally used. The ague & fever is verry prevalent on the rivers in the latter part of the summer & faul

I immagine three fifths of the Male Inhabitants above 12 years old can both read and write a much larger proportion can read only, Female Education is verry much neglected I am not of opinion that more than one half can either read or Write, a much less proportion can do both

There does not appear to be a verry great difference in this time and 25. years ago

J. Slocumb

10th June 1810

[Concluded]

and discharged; others were acquitted for the want of sufficient evidence to convict them. The court then adjourned until after the superior court at Newbern, owing to the business of some of the parties concerned in that court. This court met again on Thursday last, tried and acquitted one for the want of witnesses being brought up. Nothing more was done until yesterday, when the court tried another, who is sentenced to transportation, agreeably to act of Assembly. Our election commencing tomorrow, the court adjourned until next day when it is expected the other four will be tried, and one more, if taken; if not, he will be outlawed." *Raleigh Register*, August 12, 1805.

The General Assembly of 1807 passed an act requiring that slaves charged with capital offences be tried at the regular terms of the county courts, and that special courts for the trial of such cases be discontinued. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1807, ch. 10. It is not known whether this act was passed to forestall grave injustices which might arise from speedy trials in highly excited communities or for some other reason.

It appears that slaves were not infrequently accused of poisoning or attempting to poison whites. There are records of several such triais in Johnston County Records, Special Courts for Trial of Negroes, 1764-1780, in posession of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Cf. R. H. Taylor, "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 20-34.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by D. L. CORBITT

The notes in this issue include an account of Lumberton, Robeson County, North Carolina in 1798; an advertisement of a comedy, *The Provoked Husband*, to be given at the theatre in Wilmington on January 9, 1797; the tabulated votes of the counties, which formed the Cape Fear Congressional Division, for the election of a representative to Congress in 1791; a news item that fifty seven passengers from Maryland arrived to settle in North Carolina, and a Quaker preacher and his wife preaching to a "numerous Audience"; a list of ships entering and clearing at Beaufort Aug. 21, 1764; and a letter from the North Carolina senators and representatives to the people of the State relative to the conditions of the country in 1794, and the replies from citizens in Warrenton and Fayetteville.

LUMBERTON IN 1798¹

A short account of Lumberton, in this State.

The Town of Lumberton² is situated in the County of Robeson,³ which can boast of as many natural advantages as any county in the state; the land in point of fertility and richness of soil, is equal to any, the water excellent, the air salubrious. The improvement of Lumberton, the general increase of property therein, and its growing value, have heretofore exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its inhabitants. The situation⁴ is eligible for trade, and there is a number of stores in it, where large quantities of merchandize is annually vended in exchange for the staple commodities of the country, which consists of such articles as are best suited to the European and West-India markets—it not only commands the produce of an extensive back country, but its vicinity abounds with Lumber and Naval Stores, which are carried by water to George-Town⁵ and Charleston;⁶ but this navigation is long, and sufficient encouragement is not to be expected at George-Town market.

And as it should be the policy of the state, for all its citizens, as much

¹ *Hall's Wilmington Gazette*, Aug. 30, 1798, p. 3, c. 1.

² The act establishing Lumberton was passed in 1788. Prior to this the General Assembly had authorized a lottery for the benefit of Lumberton. Harry Lightfoot, Elias Barns, Jacob Rhodes, Sampson Bridgers and William Tatham were authorized to superintend the lottery sale, and to divide into lots the land purchased from John Willis. *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XX, pp. 213, 267; XXIV, p. 992. Hereafter this work will be referred to as *S. R.*

³ Robeson County was formed from Bladen in 1787. *S. R.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 838-840.

⁴ Lumberton, the county seat of Robeson County, is situated in the east central part of the county, and is on the north east bank of Lumber River. Lumber River empties into the Pedee River.

⁵ Georgetown, S. C. is situated on Winyah Bay into which empties Waccamaw and Pedee rivers, and Black Mingo and Sampet creeks. Produce was carried down the Lumber River to the Pedee and thence to Georgetown.

⁶ Charleston, S. C. It was necessary to carry produce partly overland to reach Charleston.

as may be, to confine their dealings within its limits, it is intended to open a navigable Canal⁷ from Lumberton to Cape Fear River, which distance is not more than 15 miles; the land is a perfect level, free from rocks, and the object could be effected with as little expence as any work of the same distance, on the continent—the cheapness of provisions, the number of labourers always to be had in this part of the country, and the public spirited exertions of every class of citizens, would tend greatly to encourage and facilitate an object, which must ultimately be of the greatest public utility—it would not only increase the quantity of produce in the county of Robeson, which is capable of great improvement, but it would command that of most of the back counties in the state, and a large proportion of that of South Carolina; the whole of which would center at Wilmington.⁸

By opening this canal of 15 miles only, it would extend an Inland Navigation of two hundred miles, thro' the counties of Bladen, Robeson and Richmond; the inhabitants of which might enjoy the immediate benefits of the Wilmington market, and participate in the trade of Elizabeth-Town⁹ and Lumberton, with a prospect of still greater advantages at the head of Navigation.

THE PROVOKED HUSBAND AT WILMINGTON THEATRE¹⁰

T H E A T R E

MR. EDGAR

MOST respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Wilmington, that the THEATRE¹¹ will be opened THIS EVENING, January 9, 1797, with a comedy as reduced to three acts, called

THE PROVOK'D HUSBAND:

Being the joint production of sir John

Vanburgh and mr. Cibber.

To which will be added

⁷ In 1816 the legislature authorized the chartering of the Lumber River Canal Company and authorized the State Treasurer to subscribe to \$20,000.00 worth of stock. The act did not recommend what route to take in connecting Lumber River with the Cape Fear River. When A. D. Murphrey made his report to the legislature in 1819 he suggested three possible routes. See Hoyt, W. H., *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphrey*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 148, 149.

⁸ Wilmington, the county seat of New Hanover, is situated at the mouth of the Cape Fear River.

⁹ Elizabethtown, the county seat of Bladen County, is situated on the Cape Fear River. It was established in 1773. *S. R.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 920-922.

¹⁰ *Hall's Wilmington Gazette*, Feb. 9, 1797, p. 3, c. 2.

¹¹ James Ennes in his will left certain property for the youth of North Carolina. Later the legislature appointed trustees of "Innes Academy," and work was begun.

"Before the completion of the academy building a theatrical corps had been organized in Wilmington, and an arrangement had been made between them and the trustees of the academy for the lower part of the building to be fitted up and used exclusively as a theatre; and a perpetual lease was made, conformably, to the Thalian Association. The building was erected about the year 1800, when the town could boast of hardly more than 1,500 inhabitants. Years afterwards, the academy fell into ruin and was not used for educational purposes. The Thalian Association, however, continued to hold possession." Sprunt, James, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 1666-1916, second edition, p. 248.

Mr. Coleman's celebrated Opera of
INKLE AND YARICO;

OR

The American Heroine.

Preceding the Play an Occasional Prologue
By Mr. Edgar.

Between the Play and Farce, a Variety of
SINGING;

And the EPILOGUE to NOTORIETY, in
character of NOMINAL, by Mr. Edgar.

Tickets One Dollar each, to be had of Messrs. Levy and Isaacks, at Mr. Dorfey's Coffee-House, and at the Printing-Office. Children admitted for half price.

* * * Doors to be opened at half past five and the performance to begin precisely at half past six o'clock.

N. B. It is particularly solicited that those Ladies and Gentlemen who may honor the Theatre with their attendance, will procure Tickets at the places mentioned, as money cannot be taken on any account at the door.

It is hoped that after the conclusion of the Farce, no songs or other amusement not mentioned in the bill, will be called for. Any Lady or Gentleman desirous of particular songs, and will honor Mr. Edgar with their commands on the morning of the play day, shall be obeyed in rotation, as far as the abilities of the Company can extend.

On Saturday next, the Comedy of

THE WEST - INDIAN,

AND

THE CITIZEN,

With a variety of other Amusements.

The days of performance next week, will be Monday, Tuesday and Saturday.

Wilmington, February 9.

ELECTION RETURNS FOR THE CAPE FEAR DIVISION 1791¹²

FAYETTEVILLE

RETURN of Votes in the several counties of the Cape Fear division, for a representative¹³ in the congress of the United States:

	T. Bloodworth, ¹⁴ esq.	W. B. Grove, ¹⁵ esq.
Anson,	43	109
Richmond,		185
Moore,	8	342
Cumberland,	38	866
Johnson,	1	69
Sampson,	343	17
Robinson,	17	352
New-Hanover	137	12
Bladen,	148	116
Duplin,	164	
Onslow;	199	
Brunswick, B. Smith, Esq.	7	
	1098	2068
		1098
Majority for W. B. Grove, Esq.		970

The hon. NATHANIEL MACON,¹⁶ esquire is elected member of Congress for the Centre. division, we are not informed by what majority.

¹² *The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1791, p. 2, c. 3.

¹³ North Carolina adopted the Federal Constitution on November 21, 1789, and in that same month the General Assembly passed an act providing for the election of representatives to Congress. This act divided the State into five divisions each of which was composed of two judicial districts. The Edenton and New Bern Division was composed of the Edenton and New Bern judicial districts; the Roanoke Division was composed of the Hillsboro and Halifax judicial districts; the Cape Fear Division was composed of the Wilmington and Cape Fear judicial districts; the Western Division was composed of the Washington and Mero judicial districts; and the Yadkin Division was composed of the Salisbury and Morgan judicial districts. *S. R.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-3. On April 2, 1790 North Carolina ceded her western land to the United States, and a reorganization of the congressional divisions was made. These five new divisions were: the Albemarle, the Roanoke, the Cape Fear, the Centre, and the Yadkin. *S. R.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 64-65. The census return having been completed, the General Assembly in 1792 divided the State into ten Congressional Districts. *Laws of North Carolina* 1792, ch. XVII. See *Laws of North Carolina*, 1790-1804.

¹⁴ Timothy Bloodworth, who took an active part in the Revolution, was a representative from New Hanover County in the General Assembly 1778-1789, 1791, 1794, and 1795. He was a representative in Congress 1790-1791, and a senator in Congress, 1795-1801. *North Carolina Manual* 1913, pp. 720-721, 913-15.

¹⁵ William Barry Grove was a representative from Cumberland County in the General Assembly, 1787-1790, and a representative in Congress, 1791-1802. *North Carolina Manual* 1913, pp. 575, 912-15.

¹⁶ Nathaniel Macon was a representative from Warren County in the General Assembly, 1782, 1784, and 1790. He was elected to Congress in 1791, and was a member of the House of Representatives until 1815; was speaker of the House, 1801-1807; was in the Senate, 1815-1828, and was president *pro tem* of the Senate, 1826-1827. *North Carolina Manual* 1913, pp. 834-35, 912-25.

FIFTY SEVEN PERSONS FROM MARYLAND TO SETTLE
IN NORTH CAROLINA¹⁷

N E W B E R N , December 14.

Since our last, several Vessels arrived here from the Northward, particularly a Sloop from Maryland with 57 Passengers, chiefly Families, who are come to settle in the Province.

Last Night arrived here a Quaker Preacher, and his Wife, and this Day they both preached here to a numerous Audience. The Doctrines which they chiefly handled, were Original Sin, and the Necessity of Regeneration; moral Reflections on the Luxuries, Poms and Vanities of the World, and a particular Caution to the young Ladies against Dress, and other juvenile Pleasures and Diversions; concluded with a suitable Prayer, to deprecate God's Judgment on a sinful World; and that he would be mercifully pleased to diffuse his holy Spirit among the People. It may not be amiss to take Notice, that the Caution and Advice to the Ladies, was delivered by the Preacher's Wife, who seem'd to have a more than common Influence of the holy Spirit; as her Doctrines were delivered with great emphatic Energy and Elocution.

SHIPS ENTERED AND CLEARED AT BEAUFORT 1764¹⁸

C U S T O M - H O U S E , Port-Beaufort,

	Entered Inwards.	From
Aug. 21st.	Schooner Sally & Polly, Robert Harris, Sloop Newport, Owin Griffin, Sloop Betsey, Joseph Hodson, Schooner Halifax, Benj Appelton, Schooner Nancy, Peter Osborne, Sloop Anne, John Halcy, Schooner James, Joseph Crispin, Sloop Newbern Packet, John Ross, Brigt. Little Nancy, William Temple, Sloop Friendship, Oliver Hull, Snow Dorothy, John Graham, Schooner Joseph, Stephen Williams, Sloop Endeavour, John Pender, Jun.	New York Virginia Boston Tortola Philadelphia New York Philadelphia Barbadoes Virginia Rhode-Island Barbadoes Do Philadelphia

	Clear'd Outwards.	For
	Schooner James, Joseph Crispin, Sloop Nancy, Stephen Andrews, Sloop Industry, Silvanus Curtis,	Virginia Boston N. York

c. ¹⁷ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer Dec. 7 to Dec. 14, 1764, p. 8,
2.

¹⁸ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, Sept. 21 to Sept. 28, Oct. 5,
1764, p. 5, 6, c. 2, 1.

Sloop William, Simon Reeves,	Quebeck
Sloop Richmond, Nathan Fanning,	Rh. Island
Schooner Britannia, George Fulford,	S. Carolina
Schooner Dolphin, Abraham Bordon,	N. York
Sloop Speedwell, Isaac Antrum,	Philadelphia
Schooner Sally & Polly, William Elkink,	N. York
Sloop Charming Sally, John Oliver,	Do
Schooner Nancy, John Lyle,	Jamaica
Sloop Elizabeth, Nathaniel Sloo,	S. Carolina
Schooner Halifax, Freeman Ellis,	New York

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA¹⁹

HALIFAX, April 9.

Philadelphia, March 28, 1794.

The Senators and Representatives²⁰ of North-Carolina in the Congress of the United States, request the favour of Mr. Hodge²¹ to give the following a place in his paper, for the information of their fellow-citizens.

Philadelphia, March 27, 1794.

Fellow-citizens of North-Carolina,

WE feel it a duty incumbent on us, to address to you our ideas on the present state of our political affairs.²² As soon as the war²³ in Europe had 'embraced those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question by suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations'—the Executive took decisive measures in consequence, to place before those concerned, our determination to observe the strictest neutrality,²⁴ to the end that as we would observe justice and moderation towards all nations, we might have a right to expect the same from them. We have, however to lament, that our endeavours to manifest a desire for peace, have not met

¹⁹ *The North-Carolina Journal*, April 9, 1794, p. 3, c. 2, 3.²⁰ Benjamin Hawkins wrote this letter. W. B. Grove to John Steele, April 2, 1794. Wagstaff, H. M., (ed) *The Papers of John Steele*, Vol. I, p. 114.²¹ Abraham Hodge was born in New York in 1755. During the Revolution he conducted the Whig Press of Samuel Lowdon, and Washington's travelling press while the army was stationed at Valley Forge. About 1785 he moved to Halifax, North Carolina, and in 1792 began to publish *The North-Carolina Journal*. He was printer to the State, and an early donor to the library of the University of North Carolina. Weeks, Stephen B., *The North Carolina Press in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 41-42.²² Conflict and misunderstanding over the war, the commerce of the United States interrupted, and in some cases seized by belligerent nations, Genet's arrival, stay, and the request by the United States for his recall, Washington's neutrality proclamation, and rumor that the South and West were raising troops for war, were some of the causes for political unrest in the United States. McMaster, John B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 110, ff.²³ The French Revolution began in July 1789. In April 1792 following the Declaration of Pillnitz, France declared war against Austria and Prussia. In 1793 Great Britain, Holland, Spain and Sardinia were added to the list of enemies. Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 495-515.²⁴ Washington's neutrality proclamation was issued April 2, 1793. McMaster, John B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 98.

the deserved success. The vexations and spoliations committed on our vessels and commerce by the cruisers and officers of some of the belligerent powers,²⁵ and particularly those of Great-Britain, induce a belief that the United States²⁶ have arrived at that crisis, when an effectual preparation²⁷ for war is indispensable to give effect to our demand for reparation of the wrongs done to our trade, as well as to prevent an increase of them.

The cruisers under the authority of the King of Great Britain have already captured two hundred and fifty of our vessels in the West Indies,²⁸ and one hundred and fifty have been condemned in the courts of admiralty there, and probably the whole. While they were making these captures, it was by many supposed (and the supposition was grounded on the apparently vague order from the British King) that a supposed necessity for seizing and detaining our vessels existed, to facilitate some military operations against the French islands in the West Indies, and that condemnation would not place.

We yet hope that a temperately firm remonstrance on the part of our government may be listened to, as our republican allies have by their successful efforts, since the issuing of these nefarious orders against our lawful commerce, proved themselves worthy of being styled the asserters and defenders of the rights of man in Europe, contrary to the expectation of the coalesced powers for the re-establishment as well as support of the ancient system of things. The French armies have been successful against Great Britain, Spain, Naples and Sardinia, at Toulon; and on the Rhine against Prussia and Austria, and at home against Fanaticism.

We are fortifying our harbours²⁹ and sea-ports, preparing cannon, arms and the necessary implements of war. We have laid a general embargo³⁰ for thirty days, and are endeavoring to devise every means in our power to face the existing, as well as eventual state of things. We hope our fellow-citizens will take early measures to secure to themselves plenty at home. The season for planting cotton, and sowing hemp and flax, is arrived, an abundance of these articles aided by wool, is desirable in peace, and indispensable in time of war. By paying proper attention to these important articles of domestic concern, at this crisis, the incon-

²⁵ Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain and Sardinia. Later others entered the war. Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, p. 505.

²⁶ The Republicans were anxious for war, but Washington wanted peace. McMaster, John B., *A History of the People of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 97 ff.

²⁷ In March 1794 Congress passed a bill providing for the fortification of harbors. Forts and redoubts were to be thrown up at Portland, Portsmouth, Gloucester, Salem, Boston, Newport, New London, New York, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore, Alexandria, Ocracoke Inlet, Cape Fear River, Georgetown, Charleston, St. Mary's, and Savannah. A few days later a navy was begun. Six frigates, two hundred cannons, two hundred and fifty tons of balls, and three hundred and forty thousand dollars' worth of muskets, small arms, and stores were authorized. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172.

²⁸ At St. Eustatia one hundred and thirty ships, and at Bermuda eleven ships were condemned by the British courts. At St. George ships were boarded, property destroyed or stolen and personal injury inflicted upon the passengers. At Martinique American seamen were horribly treated, and at St. Kitts, Antigua, St. Christopher, and Basseterre conditions were equally as bad. British privateers plundered American ships and suppressed American seamen. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 167, 168, 169.

²⁹ *Vide* note 27 above.

³⁰ Washington issued his embargo proclamation March 26, 1794. The embargo was for thirty days, but before the thirty days had passed Congress extended it thirty days. On May 25 the embargo was lifted. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

veniences that may arise from the interruption of commerce may be anticipated, and our wants supplied from our internal resources.

<i>Benj. Hawkins,³¹</i>	<i>Jos. Winston,³⁵</i>	<i>W. B. Grove,³⁹</i>
<i>Alex. Martin,³²</i>	<i>Alex. Mebane,³⁶</i>	<i>B. Williams,⁴⁰</i>
<i>Jos. M'Dowell,³³</i>	<i>W. J. Dawson,³⁷</i>	<i>Tho. Blount.⁴¹</i>
<i>Matthew Lock,³⁴</i>	<i>James Gillespie,³⁸</i>	

The cloud appears to thicken over our heads—and if possible it seems, that the United States will be involved in a war.—Ten years of peace have rolled away, while we have been advancing in the scale of prosperity and happiness beyond all former example—but alas—how uncertain are the fairest prospects and enjoyments! Ambition and avarice, the curse of nations, as of individuals, more than threaten to undermine the best foundation that ever was laid for human felicity.

If the sword must be unsheathed, let Union reign in our Councils—and Energy mark our conduct—this will appal our enemies, and again crown with glory the American Character.

Congress have it in contemplation to enrol a select militia⁴² of 80,000 men, subject to the order of the President—to be armed and accoutred at the public expence.

MEETING IN WARRENTON⁴³

H A L I F A X , April 30.

At a meeting held by the inhabitants of the town of WARRENTON, on Tuesday the 15th inst. convened for the purpose of taking into considera-

³¹ Benjamin Hawkins represented Bute County in the General Assembly in 1778, and Warren County in 1784. He was a senator in Congress, 1790-1795. *North Carolina Manual* 1913, pp. 524, 835, 911-12.

³² Alexander Martin represented Guilford County in the General Assembly, 1778-1782, 1785, and 1787-1788. He was governor 1782-1785 and 1789-1792, and a senator in Congress, 1793-1799. *Ibid.*, pp. 417, 630-31, 912-14.

³³ Joseph McDowell represented Burke County in the General Assembly, 1780-1783 and 1785-1794. He was a representative in Congress, 1793-1795. *Ibid.*, pp. 519-20, 913.

³⁴ Matthew Lock represented Rowan in the General Assembly, 1777-1785 and 1789-1792. He was a representative in Congress, 1793-1799. *Ibid.*, pp. 789-90, 913-14.

³⁵ Joseph Winston represented Surry County in the General Assembly in 1777, 1787 and 1789. He was a representative in Congress, 1793-1795. *Ibid.*, pp. 812-13, 913.

³⁶ Alexander Mebane represented Orange County in the General Assembly, 1783-1784 and 1789-1792. He was a representative in Congress, 1793-1795. *Ibid.*, pp. 737-38, 913.

³⁷ William J. Dawson was a representative in Congress, 1793-1795. *Ibid.*, pp. 737-38, 913.

³⁸ James Gillespie represented Duplin County in the General Assembly, 1779-1780, 1783-1786, 1789 and 1792. He was a Councillor of State, 1785 and 1789, and a representative in Congress, 1793-1799 and 1803-1805. *Ibid.*, pp. 423-24, 575, 913-15.

³⁹ *Vide note 15 above.*

⁴⁰ Benjamin Williams represented Craven County in the General Assembly in 1779, Johnston County, 1780-1781, 1784-1786, and 1789, and Moore County, 1807 and 1809. He was a representative in Congress, 1793-1795, and governor, 1799-1802. *Ibid.*, pp. 417, 568, 667, 711, 913.

⁴¹ Thomas Blount represented Edgecombe County in the General Assembly in 1792 and 1799. He was a representative in Congress, 1793-1799. *Ibid.*, pp. 600, 913-14.

⁴² On May 9, 1794 Congress approved an act which directed the executives of the several states to organize, arm, and equip according to law, and have ready at a moments' notice 80,000 effective militia. The number from each state was specified. Georgia 1,333; South Carolina 3,-550; North Carolina 7,331; Kentucky 1,532; Virginia 11,377, Maryland 5,418; Delaware 1,256; Pennsylvania 10,768; New Jersey 4,318; New York 7,971; Vermont 2,139; Connecticut 5,881; Rhode Island 1,697; Massachusetts 11,885; New Hampshire 3,544. *Annals of Congress*. Third Congress. 1793-1795, p. 1446.

⁴³ *The North-Carolina Journal*, April 30, 1794, p. 3, c. 1, 2, 3.

tion the letter addressed by the Senators and Representatives of the state of North-Carolina now in Congress, to their fellow-citizens, Dr. JAS. G. BREHON⁴⁴ was nominated to, and took the chair; when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That the letter from the Senators and Representatives of this state in Congress, dated March 27th, 1794, be now read.

Resolved, That an answer thereto, expressing the thanks and approbation made, be now prepared.

On which Mr. William Falkener⁴⁵ was requested to prepare the same, who soon presented the following address which was unanimously agreed to of their fellow-citizens for their dueous attention, and for the committee:

To the Senators and Representatives for the state of
North-Carolina, now in Congress in Philadelphia.

Fellow-Citizens!

THE citizens of the county of Warren (as a part of the state of North-Carolina) feeling a grateful sense for your having discharged the duty incumbent upon you by your communication from Philadelphia, of the 27th ult. with respect to the probable consequence of the determination of Congress, avail themselves of this opportunity of expressing their acknowledgments, and beg of you as it is the first testimonial publicly exhibited of genuine republican representation, to accept their thanks for the attention you pay your constituents. Too far distant from information, we are unable to decide upon what measures are necessary to be adopted—our reliance is in you, and others the federate Representativs of our great republic: but from what you describe we are obliged to say, "That our anticipations have been sorely verified." The spoilations⁴⁶ committed on the vessels of the United States, their shameful detentions, and the vexatious consequences to those concerned therein, are aggressions of too indignant and calamitous a nature for an independent people to be submitting to, and it has long been (as 'tis well known to some of you) a matter of surprise to us, that efficient means to counteract such daring outrages have not heretofore been devised.

The glorious success of our allies⁴⁷ (which we have celebrated with genuine fervour) has made no alterations in our principles; it has animated our hopes, which are that the Rights of Men may be universally established, and it has prevented the affliction we should have felt had their enemies been victorious. But the insults offered to the U. States, and the re-

⁴⁴ James Gloster Breton was one of the trustees mentioned in the act incorporating the Warren-ton Academy in 1786. Coon, Charles L., *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, p. 574. He was chairman of the board of trustees of the Academy, 1798. Coon, Charles L., *The Beginning of Public Education in North Carolina, A Documentary History, 1790-1840*. Vol. I, p. 15.

⁴⁵ William Falkener was a native of England, but lived in the United States more than thirty years before his death. "He might be called the Founder of the Seminaries for the education of young ladies in this section of the country. . . . He was one of the most elegant pensmen of his day. He was a warm and Sincere Republican. . . ." He died December 6, 1819, at the age of 68 years. Coon, Charles L., *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, pp. 594-95.

⁴⁶ *Vide* note 28 above.

⁴⁷ *Vide* note 25 above for list of belligerents.

strictions contumeliously laid upon our commerce, were equally "nefarious," though no such events had been atchieved, and whether they were committed by one nation or another, the independent dignity of America we hope will ever be manifest.

The necessity of fortifying the harbours and seaports of this extended country, we suppose has been made evident; yet whilst we approve your general conduct, permit us to advise *and charge you* to guard against *every possible additional unnecessary expenditure* such means may expose you to, by having a definite account (as nearly as such matters will admit) of the actual expense, so that the appendages of office, &c. &c. (*which many may deem necessary*) may not be more burthensome on the good citizens of the United States than the armaments and fortifications.

The embargo you mention as being generally laid, rather dissipates than encreases the gloom which assailed our minds in one part of your communication. Our wish for the blessings of peace, shall not make us heedless of your patriotic and friendly recommendations, but we shall as well by example as encouragement stimulate that agricultural spirit, which may enable us to prove, if necessity requires it, that we have "internal resources."

We salute you fraternally, and most gratefully subscribe ourselves, your satisfied fellow-citizens.

Resolved, That an advertisement be immediately published, inviting the inhabitants of the county to assemble, that such as approve may subscribe the above address on Saturday the 19th inst.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to William Falkener, for his kind attention in preparing the above adress.

J. G. BREHON, Chairman.

*The above address was signed generally by the inhabitants of the town, and afterwards by a great number of our fellow-citizens of the county, and is forwarded to our members in Congress.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town of Fayetteville,
on the 17th and 18th of April, 1794.

Colonel GUILFORD DUDLEY⁴⁸ in the chair.

A letter from citizen Grove,⁴⁹ in Congress, was read, containing his sentiments on our present political situation; also an address from the Senators and Representatives of this state in Congress to their constituents, together with some congressional and other intelligence, contained in the several newspapers.

⁴⁸ Guilford Dudley was a colonel in the Revolution. *S. R.*, Vol. XXII, p. 586-87. In 1776 he was authorized to hold an election in Halifax County. *Colonial Records*, Vol. X, p. 946. Hereafter this work will be referred to as *C. R.* In 1785 he was nominated for a Councilor of State, but was not elected. *S. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 334, 377; Vol. XX, pp. 47, 48.

⁴⁹ William B. Grove mentioned in note 15 above. Grove in writing to John Steele on April 2, 1794, among other things said, "I signed a paper a few days ago drawn up by Hawkins, addressed to the People of the State, tis to be in Hodges paper—I don't know that it can do any harm, but one reflection I wish I had not put my name on it—. . ." Wagstaff, H. M., (ed) *The Papers of John Steele*, Vol. I, p. 114.

Resolved, That the public communication from the Senators and Representatives of this state in Congress, published in the North-Carolina journal on the 9th inst. deserves the warmest thanks of their constituents.

Resolved, That the early and constant attention of citizen Grove, Representative in Congress from this district, in communicating to us from time to time his sentiments on the situation of our country, deserves our public thanks.

Resolved, That a standing committee of correspondence be appointed, to receive communications from our members in Congress (or any like committee in the union) and publish the same throughout the district; and the said committee shall be the vehicle by which the sentiments of the people may be conveyed to their Representatives. Also that the committee be empowered to call a town meeting, when in their judgments it may seem necessary.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, consisting of citizens Ker,⁵⁰ Hay,⁵¹ Taylor,⁵² Howard,⁵³ Sibley,⁵⁴ and Tarbe,⁵⁵ to draw up an address to our Representatives in Congress, relative to the present situation of our national affairs, and recommending a continuance of that vigour for the public safety, and attention to the interests and rights of their country, which their conduct has hitherto manifested.

In consequence of the above resolution the committee reported an address; which being read, was unanimously adopted, and is as follows:

To Benjamin Hawkins, Alexander Martin, Joseph M'Dowell, Matthew Lock, Joseph Winston, Alexander Mebane, William J. Dawson, James Gillespie, William B. Grove, Benjamin Williams, and Thomas Blount, Senators and Representatives of the State of North Carolina, in Congress.

CITIZENS,

We have received with pleasure and approbation your address to your constituents. We sympathize with you and our fellow-citizens on the present state of public affairs. The present moment, indeed, calls for a free communication of sentiments between the people and their Representatives, as peculiarly necessary. Longer silence would be injurious to our feelings and our duty.

For some years past we have observed in Europe, a growing spirit of

⁵⁰ This is probably Rev. David Ker who had charge of the Fayetteville Academy in 1794. *Vide Coon, Charles L., North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840.* P. 60.

⁵¹ John Hay who represented Fayetteville in the General Assembly in 1790, 1793, 1799 and 1805, and Cumberland County in 1786. *North Carolina Manual 1913.* pp. 573-575.

⁵² John Louis Taylor who represented Fayetteville in the General Assembly in 1792, 1794-1795. He was superior court judge 1793-1818 and Chief Justice of Supreme Court, 1818-1829. *Ibid.*, pp. 446, 448, 573.

⁵³ Caleb D. Howard, a joint publisher of *The North-Carolina Chronicle, or Fayetteville Gazette*. Weeks, Stephen B., *The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 44.

⁵⁴ John Sibley, a physician, who in conjunction with Caleb D. Howard began to publish *The North-Carolina Chronicle, or Fayetteville Gazette*, in 1789. *Ibid.*, p. 44. He was also postmaster at Fayetteville. *Fayetteville Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1792. p. 4, c. 3.

⁵⁵ Peter A. Forbe who was a copartner of Peter Perry. Perry & Forbe were merchants of Fayetteville selling liquors, wines and dry goods. *The North-Carolina Chronicle, or Fayetteville Gazette*, Feb. 21, 1791, p. 6, c. 2. County Court Minutes, Cumberland County, July 1791, Oct. 1793.

liberty, nourished by a more general diffusion of knowledge among mankind, and more particularly excited by that happy revolution in this land, of which we are now enjoying the fruits. To smother this spirit, we have seen the most formidable combination of despots which mankind ever witnessed. In Poland⁵⁶ we have seen this combination dictate to a people who were shaking off those fetters which had long damped the energies of the human mind: In this attempt we have seen them successful, and claiming a large part of the territory of that unhappy country, as the wages of their diabolical policy. In France we have seen them tampering with a wicked aristocracy to suppress a successful revolution.⁵⁷ They have used all the arts of bribery to divide, all the efforts of a sanguinary despotism to intimidate that nation; hitherto, happily without effect. We have seen the government of Britain⁵⁸ avow their connection with this league of tyrants, and, contrary to the interest and wishes of their people, lavish their blood and treasures to extirpate liberty from the earth, and rivet the chains of despotism on the human race. We have seen this profligate government, in Britain and Ireland violate the forms and spirit of their constitution, to suppress the efforts of liberty among their own citizens,⁵⁹ and transporting into the most degrading slavery men who were an ornament to society, whose only crime was their LOVE OF LIBERTY. We have seen this government dictating the terms of commerce to the few neutral nations that remained in Europe, and even by open force driving some of them into their abominable league.

These things, Citizens, America has seen, and her people, with sympathy and awful apprehension have witnessed the contest. But our distance from the scene of action seemed to render our assistance of little avail to the cause of liberty. The genius of republicanism is favourable to peace, and consequently we are unprepared with those means of offensive war which are necessary to despotic governments.—America was therefore content to acquiesce in pacific measures, and we, as well as other citizens, were friends to neutrality. “But the conduct of the British government to this “country, particularly of late, has been marked with such baseness, insouciance, and duplicity, that we can no longer submit, without feeling our-selves slaves.” They have injured our fair trade with France, and thereby attempted to make us tools to promote their wicked views against that country. They have presumed to make laws for our trade with our own allies in the West-Indies. They have inveigled our ships into their ports,⁶⁰ and condemned them by mock trials and arbitrary regulations. These

⁵⁶ In 1772 Prussia, Russia, and Austria joined in the first partition of Poland. In 1793 Prussia and Russia made a second partition. In 1795 Austria again joined Prussia and Russia in making the third partition of Poland which was the final dismemberment of that country. Hayes, C. J. H., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. I. pp. 361, 387-388.

⁵⁷ The French Revolution which began in July 1789.

⁵⁸ In 1793 France declared war against England, and Pitt joined in the coalition which was formed against the French in an effort to reinstate the French Monarch. Tant, T. F., *An Advanced History of Great Britain*, p. 598.

⁵⁹ The Irish having been limited in their Parliamentary powers, took advantage of England's being involved in war, and in 1782 passed a declaration of legislative independence. In this declaration Ireland repudiated the control which England had so long exercised over her Parliament. England was forced to recognize this act. *Ibid.*, pp. 586-587.

⁶⁰ *Vide* note 28 above.

things America ought not, and we trust she will not longer endure. Our sympathy with other friends to freedom is warned "by our remembrance of "the past, and our sense of the present wrongs of this country." We are now convinced that the cause of liberty is ours from interest, as well as from feeling.

In this crisis, so momentous to liberty and to our country, we have the firmest confidence in the spirit and patriotism of the government of the United States, that they will adopt the most speedy and effectual measures to repel these injuries, to do justice to our suffering citizens, and to vindicate the honour and independence of this country. Called on by the present appearance of affairs, to anticipate war as the event, we are happy to declare, WE WILL UNANIMOUSLY CONSIDER THAT WAR AS JUST AND NECESSARY. Our local situation and circumstances point out war as an evil peculiarly unfavourable to us; our commerce, during its existence may be destroyed, and our agriculture injured. These sacrifices we will cheerfully make to common interests of that government of which we are citizens and which we are all equally DETERMINED TO SUPPORT.

GUILFORD DUDLEY,⁶¹ Chairman,

SAMUEL D. PURVIANCE,⁶² Secretary.

OBITUARIES PRIOR TO 1800

These obituary notices will be inserted from time to time covering the period prior to and including the year 1800. They will be taken from the North Carolina newspapers now on file in the North Carolina Historical Commission.

THOMAS READ DEAD⁶³

E D E N T O N , November 17.

On Sunday morning, 26th ult. departed this life, at Bordentown, THOMAS READ, Esq. late master of the ship Alliance, and during the late war, a Captain in the American navy. While integrity, benevolence, patriotism and courage, united with the most gentle manners, are respected and admired among men, the name of this valuable citizen and soldier will be revered and beloved by all who knew him. He was, in the noblest import of the word—a MAN.

⁶¹ *Vide note 48 above.*

⁶² Samuel D. Purviance represented Cumberland County in the General Assembly in 1798-1799 and 1801. *North Carolina Manual* 1913, p. 575.

⁶³ *The State Gazette of North-Carolina*, Nov. 17, 1788, p. 3, c. 2.

ISAAC SESSIONS DEAD⁶⁴

DIED)—on the 19th Inst. at the Shallow-ford surry county, Mr. ISAAC SESSIONS. Merchant of that place.

RICHARD BLACKLEDGE DROWNED⁶⁵

NEWBERN, Sept. 26.

Last Week a very melancholy Accident happened at Core-Sound. Mr. Richard Blackledge, of this County, who was carrying on the Public Salt Works of this State, was unfortunately drowned in crossing over from the Town of Beaufort to the Salt Works on New-Port River, together with a white Boy and a Negro Fellow. After condoling with his disconsolate Widow, and numerous and amiable Family, on the Loss of so tender a Husband and Parent, we are next to view him in a Public Character, and deplore his Loss as a public Misfortune. He has been employed on several Public Services by this State, in which he manifested a Spirit active, enterprising, and indefatigable; and was just in a fair Way of bringing the Salt Works to Perfection, and supplying the State with great Quantities of that useful Article.

By a Gentleman just arrived from Charles-Town, we are informed, that one of the large three decked Ships lately carried in there by Capt. Biddle in the Randolph continental Frigate, proves to be a Prize taken by Capt. Palmer in the Privateer Nancy, belonging to Mr. John Stanly of this Town. It seems a few Days after Capt. Palmer took her, a large Ship of 20 Guns from Jamaica retook her, in a Day or two after which the Randolph fell in with them both and conducted them safe to Charles-Town. The Nancy has also taken a Guinea-Man with 100 Slaves, Ivory, and other Valuables, and sent her into Georgia.

RICHARD HOSKINS AND DR. FREDERICK RAMCKE DEAD⁶⁶

EDENTON,

WEDNESDAY MORNING, Sept. 10.

(DIED) on the 27th August, 1800, 6 miles above Edenton, Mr. Richard Hoskins, in the 63d year of his age, he being the first and only one taken out of his family, left behind him his widow and 13 children, nearly all grown, he is much lamented by all who knew him in particular by the poor, the fatherless and the widow.

DEPARTED this life or Friday morning the 29th of July last, at his House in Edenton, Dr. FREDERICK RAMCKE. Who, by the gentleness & suavity of his manners, his skill & application in the medical art, the friendliness and hospitality of his disposition, justly merited and ac-

⁶⁴ *Fayetteville Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1792, p. 3, c. 4.

⁶⁵ *The North-Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1777, p. 3, c. 2.

⁶⁶ *The Post-Angel; or Universal Entertainment*, Sept. 10, 1800, p. 3, c. 2.

quired the affection and esteem of every one. His death must be regreted as a loss to the public, in being bereaved of the services of a man of unblemished morals, untainted integrity, and singular probity and goodness. He grudged not his trouble in visiting the sick, and his heart was too good to let him see the distresses of his fellow-creatures, without offering a willing hand to relieve them. And his disposition too liberal to let him accept *a fee*. In fine he was of amiable manners—one of the best men; and his sociable disposition qualified him for the kind friend and cheerful companion.

A few lines on the melancholy death of Doctor Frederick Ramcke. 29th August, 1800.

THRICE welcome grim death, thy
Horrors are fled,
My pleasure is thus, to rest with
the dead.
What pleasure on earth, that men
can compare,
To the sweetness of death, which
ends all despair.

Now while in my tomb, in silence I
rest
The pleasures of life, being trifles
at best;
Then weep not my friends, my choice
is now made,
To prepare my own end, was to rest
with the dead.

Adieu my dear children, my wife and
my friends;
Why should you lament, when my
trouble now ends:
How glorious the scene, that displays
after death,
Which gives us new life, tho'
deprived of breath.

No worldly immolments, I leave you
behind;
Some true honest friend, no doubt
you will find,
Then trust in your maker, he is a sure
guide,
Keep a true virtuous heart, and the
Lord will provide.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF TAXATION IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1663-1776. By Coralie Parker. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1928. Pp. x, 178. \$3.75).

In this volume Dr. Parker analyzes the system of taxation in colonial North Carolina with the purpose of contributing to an understanding of the system of taxation in the United States today. Such ventures in the field of economic history are certainly to be welcomed both by general students and by persons especially interested in the areas treated, but to offer much of value to either group of readers they must be based on far more careful study than was the case with this doctoral dissertation. Since the subject of taxation is intimately connected with so many different aspects of human activity, the student must approach his or her special problem equipped with a comprehensive knowledge of the period involved if sound treatment is to follow. Such knowledge the author of the present volume does not seem to possess.

The first quarter of the book is devoted to an introductory chapter giving a "succinct description" of the economic philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "with a brief account of the English system of taxation" as a background for the rest of the work. The author's information has been gained, the footnotes tell us, from the writings of such standard economists and historians as Haney, Cunningham, Dowell, Beer, and Andrews, and from university lecture notes, but her treatment lacks clarity and that impression of full understanding which can come only from familiarity with the sources themselves. Succeeding chapters deal in order with quit-rents, customs duties, the poll tax, land and miscellaneous taxes, and local taxes in North Carolina before 1776. Dr. Parker has gone to the printed records of the colony and to its collected laws and has described the various acts and other regulations which went into effect from time to time. Perhaps the most valuable chapter is the one on the poll tax, a type of financial imposition which, as the writer shows, played a more important part in the fiscal system of North Carolina than in that of almost any other colony.

In the concluding chapter an attempt is made to compare the system of taxation in North Carolina with the systems of Virginia and New England. But the value of this comparison is largely destroy-

ed by Dr. Parker's lack of knowledge of conditions in the North. She tells us in one place, for example, that "in New England local self-government was the policy pursued, with the county as the unit. Taxes were levied by each county according to its needs." (Page 100, note.) Local self-government, perhaps, but has Dr. Parker never heard of the New England town-meeting? She reads back into the colonial period the conditions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when she says that "Massachusetts and the northern colonies were primarily manufacturing localities." (Page 154.) Even more astonishing are her novel views on the history of slavery. First she declares that "no slaves existed" in the North (page 156) and then tells us that "slaves were first imported into the country by the northern colonies for the purpose of their industrial advancement, but for various reasons, chief among which was the climatic conditions unfavorable to the existence of the African race, they proved unprofitable. They were then sent southward, where more favorable economic conditions caused them to flourish." (Page 158.)

The author's treatment of North Carolina itself is a little more satisfactory, perhaps, but is still far from accurate or complete. One suspects that when she refers to the adjustment of the Granville claims in 1744 as a "sale" from the king (page 64), she does not fully understand the circumstances of that transaction. The broader aspects of the subject of taxation receive but scant attention. Constitutional questions are barely mentioned. There is only a passing allusion to the contest over the right of the council, sitting as an upper house, to amend money bills. The machinery for collecting taxes is only touched upon. In her brief reference to the act of 1754 laying a duty of half a pound of gunpowder and one pound of lead shot per ton on incoming vessels, the author does not indicate that the object of the measure was the creation of a reserve supply for military purposes, nor that the permanent imposition of such a levy was urged upon the province in every set of royal instructions to the governors from 1754 until the Revolution as a definite part of British policy. Nor in her short section on lotteries does she mention that all legislation authorizing public or private lotteries was absolutely forbidden by the crown in 1769. Perhaps her summary treatment of the Regulator Movement is the most disappointing section of the book. An uprising which was so largely caused by the dissatisfaction of the western settlers with the system of

taxation, with the machinery of collection, and with the exorbitant fees demanded by officials (Dr. Parker includes fees in her study as a form of taxation), surely deserves more attention in a monograph on taxation in North Carolina than can be compressed into two pages.

A poorly selected and uncritical bibliography, arranged alphabetically by authors, concludes the volume. In her zeal to omit nothing which seems to bear, however remotely, on her subject, the author has tucked in some strange bed-fellows. Footnote references in the text explain, perhaps, the listing in the bibliography of Aristotle's *Politics* and Webster's *Dictionary*, but no such justification is to be found for the mention of such books—admirable as they are for their original purposes—as Boyd's historical novel, *Drums*, and Cheney's high school text-book, *A Short History of England*. The reviewer lays down the volume with a feeling of regret that a treatise on so excellent a subject should have been allowed to appear in so unfinished a form.

Yale University.

LEONARD W. LABAREE

THE CONFEDERATE PRIVATEERS. By William Morrison Robinson, Jr., (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 372. \$4.00).

In his "Critical Bibliography," which serves also as a preface, the author says that "there is no real bibliography on those last privateers in the world's history": Maclay has "two scant and inaccurate pages" and Scharf only one chapter, which is full of error. "One must be referred," he continues, "to the newspapers of the sixties, the Official Records, and the unpublished archives of the Navy Department." These sources he claims to have used extensively. The footnotes give sanction to the claim.

Privateering proper began with the proclamation of President Davis and the authorization of the Confederate Congress in April-May, 1861. Its motives from the privateer's standpoint were in part patriotism and in part opportunity for wealth and adventure. It was commonly explained and defended as "reprisal." It was approved by the Confederacy as the best practicable defence against the overwhelming sea-power of the enemy. That the privateers were not treated as pirates, as Lincoln tried to do, was due to the care of the Confederacy in modeling its regulations after those of the United States in the War of 1812, to Davis's stern preparations for retali-

tion, and to the action of the neutral nations. The response of the South is estimated at one letter of marque for each twenty-seven thousand tons of shipping as compared with one for every twenty-five thousand tons in the War of 1812. All sorts of craft were used—tow-boats, freighters, tug-boats, oyster-boats and iron-clads and submarines were attempted. New Orleans and Charleston were the chief suppliers of privateers. The *Calhoun* of New Orleans was the first. The *Jefferson Davis* of Charleston made "the last truly classic cruise," which extended to the New England coast, to the Bahamas, and back to St. Augustine where the ship ran aground and was captured. There was a "Rendezvous at Hatteras" until the blockade came. The greatest draw-back to privateering was the refusal of neutrals to permit prizes to be brought into their ports and sold, for the privateer was financed through the sale of prizes and their goods. This, the author thinks, rather than their governments' prohibitory orders prevented the adventurous of other lands from taking out letters of marque. With the establishment of the blockade, in early 1862 marine transportation became "more lucrative than privateering, if not equally patriotic as well." As a private venture it was not particularly successful, for while some took rich prizes and sold them, others, including some of those at first successful, lost their ventures, and some their lives. Privateering caused the enemy a great deal of uneasiness and a great deal of expense—even on the Pacific coast. The chief hope in it, perhaps, lay in the stimulus to individual enterprise which it afforded. Thus the *Mannassas*, "the world's first fighting iron-clad steamer," was constructed for privateering; and "private enterprise brought out the first submarine boat," the *Pioneer*, which on a trial trip blew a barge out of the water. The Confederacy, instigated by private persons, experimented with a number of semi-privateering schemes and towards the end of the war was trying to get under way a "volunteer navy" through the instrumentality, in part, of the Virginia Volunteer Navy Company. The author concludes that privateering "belonged to a vanished order of things, like the very political and social structure which the Confederate States themselves typified."

The reader will not find in this book the promises of its jacket all fulfilled. Nor will he, strangely, find the poem of Edward C. Bruce from which the title page quotes. And he will at times wish that the editor had helped the author to clear or to restrain some of

his sentences. On the other hand he will probably no where else find so good a collection of authentic Confederate sea-tales told with such a satisfactory combination of detail and brevity. To the reviewer, though but a side-issue of the war privateering as here disclosed brought out the same qualities among Southerners as the main issue: dash, genius, courtesy—and optimism that took little account of the realities.

Wake Forest, N. C.

C. C. PEARSON.

MEET GENERAL GRANT. By W. E. Woodward. (New York: Horace Liveright. 1928. p. 512. \$5).

Of all the flood of modern biography which has poured from the press during the last few years, few volumes have been more intriguing and provocative of interest than Mr. Woodward's "George Washington." The book was smartly written, if you remember. It was also written from a twentieth-century point of view, with a modern understanding of motivation, and it did considerable debunking of American mythology. The same qualities characterize Mr. Woodward's latest opus. This time, however, he does his debunking in reverse. Having pictured Father George as a hard-boiled character, he now gives us a General Grant who is altogether too soft.

The conventional concept of Grant is, I suppose, that of a 100 per cent he-man, never seen without cigar in mouth, skin tough as nails, insides copper-lined, heart of gold and will of iron. And yet surely all persons with more than a smattering of Civil War history must have known that this mythological hero was not the true U. S. Grant, no more indeed than the conventional synthesis of Job, Joshua, Solomon, Socrates and an old maid in trousers is the true George Washington. Grant indeed must have appeared to all thoughtful persons familiar with the salient facts of his career as a strange and puzzling character. How could the magnanimous victor of Appamattox have been the ruthless butcher of Cold Harbor? How could the soldier with the bulldog grip have been the vacillating victim of the jug? How could the hapless captain who drank himself out of the army have become the nation-saving commander-in-chief? Again, how could Grant, with no pretense of religion, go through two wars and have Congress on his hands for eight years without once uttering a profane word? Yet again, why did Grant with his uncritical mentality and his almost pathetic desire for respectability, evince no in-

terest in religion and refuse to join the church?

Mr. Woodward has interpreted Grant in the light of the Freudian psychology and has done a very convincing job. The reader gets no impression of an hypothesis overworked, of facts trimmed or stretched in order to fit them into a Procrustean bed of theory. On the contrary, the whole effect of Mr. Woodward's interpretation is to make Grant understandable.

The clue to the mystery of Grant's character, Mr. Woodward finds in the circumstances of Grant's boyhood. Hard and solitary manual labor (he was doing a man's work, we are told at twelve) forced the shy, sensitive, undersized lad into a precocious physical maturity, while mentally he remained for most of his life in a sort of congealed adolescence. This goes far to account for Grant's prudishness, his sensitiveness to ridicule, his lack of *savoir faire*, his gullibility, his poor judgment of human nature. When confronted by circumstances that called for physical action Grant seemed sure of himself and was usually successful, but when dealing with imponderables he fumbled and often blundered egregiously.

Great men, thinks Mr. Woodward, are largely the product of circumstances, and never has this thesis been more strikingly illustrated than in the case of General Grant. There was nothing about the young Ulysses to indicate that he might be destined even to a footnote in history. He was backward in his studies, unsociable and unassertive among the young bucks of the neighborhood, apparently without the least inborn qualification for leadership. One thing and one only he could do unusually well: he was an expert in handling horses. This expertness, thinks Mr. Woodward, was due to an inferiority complex: the neighbors, because of his numskullery, had "kidded" him and nicknamed him "Useless"; very well, he would show 'em! His horsemanship indeed seems to have been all that saved him from the downright contempt of the neighborhood, and even this was not greatly admired, since every boy was supposed to handle horses, anyhow.

Grant indeed was largely a creature of circumstances. As a youth, he was utterly without ambition to be a soldier—or (apparently) anything else. He got his chance to go to West Point through a lucky accident, yet so distasteful was the idea of a military life that his father had to compel him to accept the appointment. As a cadet, he was the best horseman in school, but otherwise distinguished

only for his carelessness of appearance, mediocrity of scholarship, hatred of firearms, and a certain girlish aversion to profanity and practical jokes. He fought in the Mexican War, which he regarded as grossly unjust, solely because he lacked the moral courage to resign. He began to drink in Mexico, probably because of sexual repression and profound distaste for military life. He literally drank himself out of the army. Figuratively, however, he drank himself into the position of commander-in-chief. Had it not been for whiskey Grant would have remained in the service, and would probably never have had the chance to command more than a regiment. As it was, the regular army was stupidly kept together at the outbreak of the Civil War, the states were expected to train and equip their own volunteers as best they could, everybody with military experience was in demand, a Congressman wanted a brigadier general from his district—and so Grant got his chance. His success was in part due to his very limitations—he had never read a book on strategy and so never bothered about what Napoleon would have done, but went right ahead using his common sense. His mind was naturally that of an engineer—he was at his best in dealing with the movement of men and supplies. His greatest victory, Vicksburg, was largely an affair of transportation.

As to Grant's final rank in history, Mr. Woodward believes that while he was far inferior to Lee as a tactician, he nevertheless had his points of superiority. He had more stubbornness than Lee, (when really aroused) and seems to have been Lee's superior in handling matters of transportation. It is doubtful, for instance, whether Lee could have consummated the Napoleonic coup at Vicksburg. As a President, Grant was of course a pathetic failure, and as a banker an egregious victim of his own gullibility.

Two errors may be noted: James K. Polk was not unknown to the country when he was nominated for President, and the Confederates at the close of the war were not, as Mr. Woodward says on page 244, "better armed than the Northern troops." The latter statement is indeed made ridiculous by Mr. Woodward's own description of Lee's army just before Appamattox: Lee, he tells us, had "only 25,000 men... and of these only about 8,000 had any arms or ammunition."

But barring two or three such blunders, Mr. Woodward has produced a sound and, I believe, an enduring piece of work. If he di-

gresses frequently from Grant to write the story of Grant's times and to comment on various phases of American *kultur*, I have no fault to find: the book is long, but not too long. Next to Beveridge's "Lincoln" it is perhaps the most important American biography of the recent autumn season.

CHARLES LEE SNIDER.

Denton, N. C.

THE ESTATE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON DECEASED. By Eugene E. Prussing. (Little, Brown, and Company. 1927).

GEORGE WASHINGTON. THE REBEL AND THE PATRIOT. 1762-1777. By Rupert Hughes. (William Morrow and Company. 1927).

The work of Mr. Prussing, a diligent student of Washington, is a work of such arduous research in such dry documentary material that one cannot repress astonishment over the project. Who but a trained lawyer, to whom deeds, wills and legal papers are perennially interesting and even exciting, would ever have conceived worth while the extremely laborious task embodied in this book? That alone does not explain it; for a deep love of Washington lore was another guiding motive. But deeper than was the conviction, entertained by Mr. Prussing, that no correct, detailed or adequate biography of Washington could be written until the facts regarding his property, its acquisition, use and disposal, were known. This investigation, if painstakingly carried out, would follow the course of Washington's development as man, as financier, as investor, as promoter, as agriculturalist, as capitalist. There is no phase of human life which does not effect, and is not affected by, property. To know Washington as a property-owner and speculator is to know him in his relations to his home, his family, his relatives, his friends, his fellow citizens, his nation, and his time.

This is a remarkable work—remarkable in research, remarkable in industry, remarkable in the flood of light it throws upon numerous transactions in Washington's life about which the public hitherto has known little or nothing. Mr. Prussing has started with Washington's will; gone backward as well as forward, and discovered the motives and circumstances connected with the acquisition of his property, the use he made of it, and its ultimate disposal. He has followed the proceedings connected with the disposal of the estate through the fifty-one years required to administer it. In a former volume on Washington, embodying a great deal of original research,

Mr. Prussing contended that Washington's chief claim to greatness was as engineer and captain of industry. The present volume goes far to confirm the original estimate. This is a basic work, which will prove indispensable to all future students of Washington's character, disposition and career.

The second volume of Mr. Rupurt Hughes's extended biography of Washington traverses the period from 1762 and 1777. Mr. Hughes's deficiencies as biographer and historian are far more glaringly exposed here than in the former volume. He has no sex episode to hint about, leer over, and innuendize with. Without illicit romance to go on with Mr. Hughes seems to lapse into a dull, plodding, and painfully inexpert historian. He writes badly—at points execrably. He hasn't the patience, the integrating power, the generalizing faculty and the artistic skill to mold his materials into a homogeneous whole. When it comes to the early land companies and schemes of promotion in the West, Mr. Hughes frankly surrenders—and makes a horrible botch of the matter, ending with a catalogue and summary in an appendix. Yet it must be said that the work contains much of value, even if it does lack organic quality. Mr. Hughes has made wide—venging research and unearthed much new and hitherto unpublished Washington material. But the volume as a whole is sadly disappointing.

University of North Carolina.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Marshal Ney Before and After Execution. With numerous illustrations. Compiled by J. Edward Smoot, M. D. (Charlotte: Queen City Printing Company. 1929. Pp. 460.)

Twelve Bad Men. By Sidney Dark. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1929. Pp. 351.)

The Road to Oregon. By W. J. Ghent. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 274. \$5.00.)

Mexico and Its Heritage. By Ernest Gruening. (New York: The Century Company. 1928. Pp. xix, 728. \$6.00.)

Studies in Taxation. North Carolina Club Yearbook, 1927-1928. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1928. Pp. 131.)

Life and Labor in the Old South. By Ulrich B. Phillips. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1929. Pp. xix, 375.)

The Way of Victory. By William Louis Poteat. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1929. Pp. 83. \$1.00)

Famous American Duels. By Don C. Seitz. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1929. Pp. xi, 345. \$3.50.)

Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869. Translated and edited by Joseph Schafer. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, Vol. XXX.] (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1928. Pp. xxi, 491.)

HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, *The North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume or 50 cents per number.

The General Assembly of 1929, which adjourned in March, made appropriations to the North Carolina Historical Commission of \$36,640 for the year 1929-30, and \$39,340 for the year 1930-31. These appropriations will make possible an enlarged publication program during the biennium, notably the inauguration at the rate of one volume per year of a series of the official correspondence of the governors of the State.

Professor R. D. W. Connor, of the University of North Carolina, is teaching history in the summer sessions of Chicago University.

The General Assembly of 1929 authorized the donation, at a cost of \$15,000, of a statue of Charles Brantley Aycock to the National Hall of Statuary, Washington. The Hall was established by Congress in 1864 and each state was invited to contribute marble or bronze statues of her two most distinguished deceased citizens. In 1916, North Carolina placed therein a statue of Zebulon Baird Vance. The selection of Aycock, chief executive of the State from 1901 to 1905 and widely known as the "educational governor," was generally acclaimed with satisfaction. To make arrangements for the construction and erection of the statue, Governor O. Max Gardner, chairman ex officio of the Aycock Statue Commission, appointed on May 1 the following as members of the Commission: Senator S.

C. Brawley, Durham; Josephus Daniels, Raleigh; Representative A. D. McLean, Washington, who introduced the bill in the House; Dr. J. Y. Joyner, Raleigh; Dr. Cyrus Thompson, Jacksonville; Judge James L. Webb, Shelby; Judge R. W. Winston, Chapel Hill; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, Raleigh; and Hugh G. Chatham, Winston-Salem.

Professor B. B. Kendrick, of the North Carolina College for Women, is teaching history in the Columbia University summer school.

Miss Magnhilde Gullander, of the history department of N. C. C. W., has been granted leave of absence for 1929-30 to pursue graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania.

Miss Bernice Draper, who spent the past year in graduate study at the University of Wisconsin, will resume her position as a member of the history faculty of N. C. C. W. in September.

A. R. Newsome, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Michigan, June 17. The subject of the dissertation accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree is "The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina."

Professor K. C. Frazer will be absent from the University of North Carolina on leave during the fall quarter, 1929. He will spend his leave in Washington where he will be at work on a biography of the late Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama. Senator Morgan's family has very generously placed the entire collection of his papers at Mr. Frazer's disposal.

The resignations of the following instructors in the Department of History and Government of the University of North Carolina are announced: Henry T. Shanks, to become assistant professor of history at Birmingham Southern College; J. A. Patton, to become associate professor of history at the Citadel, Charleston, S. C.; W. P. Brandon, to become professor of history in the Asheville City College; C. E. Cauthen, to resume his position as professor of history at Columbia (S. C.) College; and C. C. Crittenden, to return to Yale to complete his work for the doctorate.

The following appointments as instructors in history for the academic year 1929-30 at the University of North Carolina are announced: Sherman B. Barnes, A. B., Columbia University, 1929; Robert D. Meade, instructor in history, Vanderbilt University, 1928-29; William E. Dodd, Jr., A. B., University of Chicago, 1928, instructor in history, Rutgers University, 1928-29; and D. C. Corbitt, instructor in history at Candler College, Havana, Cuba, 1928-29.

Dr. George Sherrill of Clemson College and Dr. R. H. Taylor of Furman University are teaching history in the summer school at Wake Forest College.

Professor C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College is a member of the history summer school faculty of the University of Virginia.

Members of the history faculty of Duke University are giving instruction in summer schools as follows: Professor J. Fred Rippy in the University of Mexico; Professors W. K. Boyd and W. T. La-prade in the University of Michigan; Assistant Professor Nelson in the University of Chicago; and Associate Professor E. M. Carroll and Dr. J. T. Lanning in Duke University.

Duke University has awarded fellowships in history to the following for the year 1929-30: J. C. Patterson, A. B. and A. M., University of Texas; E. T. Parks, A. M., University of Tennessee; T. D. Clark, A. B., Mississippi, and A. M., University of Kentucky; W. A. Mabry, A. B. and A. M., Duke University; and Culver H. Smith, A. B., Duke University, and A. M., Yale University.

Mr. N. M. Blake, A. B., George Washington University, and A. M., Duke University; and Miss Elizabeth Huey Davidson, B. S. and M. S., University of Tennessee, have received appointments as scholars at Duke University for the year 1929-30.

Fellowships in history and government for the year 1929-30 have been awarded as follows by the University of North Carolina: Robert Steele Funderburk, A. B., Furman University; Evan Somerville Clark, A. B., Dalhousie University (Nova Scotia), and A. M., University of Toronto; Lewis Winkler Bealer, A. B., Utah, and A. M., California.

Mr. Shelby T. McCloy, instructor in history at Duke University, has been granted leave of absence during the year 1929-30 to accept a fellowship in Columbia University.

Mr. R. B. Flanders, who received the doctor's degree at Duke University in June, has been appointed instructor in history in New York University.

Miss Elizabeth Anderson, A. B. and A. M., Duke University, has been appointed history fellow for the next year in the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. J. C. Robert, A. B., Furman, and A. M., Duke University, has been selected as Watauga Exchange fellow at Harvard University for 1929-30.

American Literature, A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography is a new magazine, published quarterly at the subscription rate of \$4 per year by the Duke University Press with the co-operation of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America. Number one of volume one appeared in March. The aim of the editors is to provide an avenue of publication for the scholarly productions of research in the whole field of American Literature. The board of editors comprises Jay B. Hubbell, Duke University, Chairman; W. B. Cairns, University of Wisconsin; Kenneth B. Murdock, Harvard University; Fred Lewis Pattee, Rollins College; and Ralph Leslie Rusk, Columbia University.

North Carolina. Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925, four volumes, has been issued by The American Historical Society, Chicago and New York. Volumes one and two constitute a narrative history written by R. D. W. Connor, Kenan Professor of History and Government in the University of North Carolina; and volumes three and four, an assortment of unsigned biographical sketches.

"Opportunities for Research in North Carolina History" is the title of an address delivered by A. R. Newsome, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, to a joint meeting of the fac-

ulty and graduate students of the Department of History and Government of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, April 16.

A bronze tablet memorializing Willie Person Mangum (1792-1861), for seventeen years a member of the United States Senate from North Carolina and for three years its president, was erected by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the Durham-Orange Historical Commission on the Durham-Roxboro highway about 12 miles north of Durham near Mangum's birthplace and grave, and unveiled on April 5. Mr. R. O. Everett, president of the Durham-Orange Historical Commission, presided at the exercises; W. P. Stacy, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, delivered the principal address; and Professor W. K. Boyd of Duke University presented the marker, which was accepted by A. R. Newsome, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The Durham-Orange Commission sponsored among the public school children of the county an essay contest on the life of Mangum, which had great educational value.

The thirty-ninth annual Confederate Reunion was held in Charlotte, June 4-7, 1929. The Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Confederated Southern Memorial Association held conventions in conjunction with the reunion. The General Assembly of 1929 appropriated \$25,000 toward the expenses of the reunion, of which North Carolina is host for the first time.

A bronze tablet memorializing William Richardson Davie was unveiled on the site of his home in Halifax on May 3. Davie (1756-1820) was a colonel in the Revolution, delegate to the Federal Convention of 1787, Grand Master of Masons, a founder of the University of North Carolina, governor, and minister to France. The marker was erected by the North Carolina Historical Commission and grades six and seven of the Halifax County Rural Schools under the supervision of Superintendent A. E. Akers and Supervisor Annie M. Cherry. Mr. W. M. Saunders, historian of Halifax County, was also active in promoting the project. Superintendent Akers presided at the unveiling exercises, which were held as part of the Halifax County Commencement. Executive Secretary R. B. House of the

University delivered the principal address, and Miss Carrie Bowers presented the tablet, which was accepted for the North Carolina Historical Commission by Secretary A. R. Newsome.

The teacher training class of Harnett County, under the supervision of its instructor, Hilda McCurdy of Lillington, has written and issued in mimeograph form a sixteen-page history of Harnett County. County Historian D. P. McDonald rendered assistance in the preparation of the history.

Several county historians have been active in preparing and publishing in their county newspapers material of historical interest and value, notably Mr. Clarence Griffin of Rutherford County, in the *Rutherford County News*; Mr. C. E. D. Egerton of Richmond County, in the *Rockingham Post-Dispatch*; and Miss Mary Heitman of Davie, in the *Mocksville Enterprise* and *Winston-Salem Journal*.

The following articles in periodicals are noteworthy: George D. Harmon, *Douglas and the Compromise of 1850* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, January); W. Julian Fessler, *Captain Nathan Boone's Journal* [Nathan Boone was the youngest son of Daniel Boone], and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Alexander McGillivray* [see A. P. Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, April and July, 1928] (Chronicles of Oklahoma, March); Stella M. Drumm, *Robert E. Lee and the Improvement of the Mississippi River* (Missouri Historical Society Collections, February); Alfred Rive, *A Brief History of Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England* (William and Mary College Quarterly, January and April); W. E. Drake, *Benjamin Franklin and the University of North Carolina* (The High School Journal, February); Mrs. C. W. McMahon, *Gen. Leonidas Polk, C. S. A.* (Confederate Veteran, February); Mrs. C. L. Wardlaw, *Plantation Life Before the War* (*ibid.*); Mrs. J. P. Wickham, *Wade Hampton, the Cavalry Leader, and his Times* (*ibid.*); Anon., *Colonial Coast Forts on the South Atlantic: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida* (Coast Artillery Journal, January); H. A. Trexler, *Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Patronage* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. S. Wilson, *Breaking the Solid South* (Virginia Quarterly Review, Janu-

ary); George D. Harmon, *President Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas* (Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, January); Grace J. Clarke, *Andrew Hoover Comes to Indiana* (Indiana Magazine of History, December, 1928); A. P. Whitaker, *New Light on the Treaty of San Lorenzo: An Essay in Historical Criticism* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March); W. B. Posey, *The Blount Conspiracy* (Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin, December, 1928); C. A. Karraker, *The King's Casual Revenues in the Southern Colonies* (*ibid.*); Eunice Wead, *British Public Opinion of the Peace with America in 1782* (American Historical Review, April).

Life and Labor in the Old South, by Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan, has been issued as the first volume of a series designed to cover the history of the South. Professor Phillips, a native of Georgia, is the foremost authority on American negro slavery and the plantation system. The volume won the \$2,500 prize offered by Little, Brown and Company for the best unpublished manuscript submitted in 1928. Professor Phillips has recently won the \$5,000 Kahn travel fellowship for 1929-30.

The chief accessions to the manuscript collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the months of March-May were: 330 pages of transcripts of the North Carolina material in the British Public Record Office; a two-volume manuscript "History of the Scotch in North Carolina," by Angus W. McLean; large collections of photostats of North Carolina manuscripts selected from the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and from the Draper Manuscripts of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and photostats of twenty maps in possession of the Williams L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

On June 11, the Friends of North Carolina unveiled a marker in Perquimans County memorializing the religious work of William Edmundson and George Fox in seventeenth century North Carolina. Addresses were delivered by Miss Emma L. White of Belvidere and Rev. Joseph H. Peele of Guilford College.

The city of New Bern held a largely attended and carefully arranged historical celebration on June 11, commemorating the im-

portant events in North Carolina history which have taken place there. Governor O. Max Gardner; Secretary Rufenacht of the Swiss Legation; Congressmen Abernethy of North Carolina, Williams of Illinois, and Thacker of Kentucky; Admiral Bellard, Chief of the Coast Guard; and Josephus Daniels were among the notables in attendance.

Under the guidance of Dr. D. T. Smithwick, County Historian, and Mrs. Ben T. Holden, president of the Franklin County Historical Association, an elaborate celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the establishment of Franklin County was held in Louisburg on July 4. Josephus Daniels delivered the principal address. The annual meeting of the state organization of Sons of the American Revolution was held on the same date in Louisburg.

On July 3, the memorial to North Carolina soldiers in the Battle of Gettysburg—a mounted heroic bronze group by Gutzon Borglum—was dedicated on the Gettysburg Battlefield. The legislature of 1927 appropriated \$50,000 for the memorial. Governor O. Max Gardner presided at the exercises, and former Governor A. W. McLean delivered the principal address. The North Carolina division of the U. D. C., to which is due much of the credit for the erection of the memorial, participated in the program.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Earle H. Ketcham is a professor of history in Syracuse University.

Dr. George D. Harmon is a professor of history in Lehigh University.

Dr. John D. Hicks is a professor of history in the University of Nebraska.

Dr. John D. Barnhart is a professor of history in the West Virginia University.

Dr. A. R. Newsome is Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

